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RECEPTION OF THE PONTIFF ALEXANDER THE III
BY HENRY & LOUIS

TALES OF A GRANDFATHER

BEING STORIES FROM

THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

VOL. II.

Page 69

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1831.

TALES

OF

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BEING

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INSCRIBED TO

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TALES OF A GRANDFATHER,

BEING

STORIES

TAKEN FROM

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

FROM

THE PERIOD OF CÆSAR'S CONQUEST,

TILL THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

CHAP. I.

Divorce of Louis and his Queen, Eleanor—Marriage of Eleanor and Henry Plantagenet, by which her Possessions were added to those of a powerful Rival of Louis—Intrigues of Louis to weaken the Power of Henry—Accession of Henry to the English Throne—Contract of Marriage between the Son of Henry and Daughter of Louis—Rupture between these Monarchs on Henry's asserting a Right to the Earldom of Toulouse—their Reconciliation—Schism concerning the Election of the Pope, in which the Kings of France and England espoused the side of Alexander III.—Odium incurred by Henry on account of the Murder of Thomas

a Becket—League, with Louis at its Head, against Henry—the Confederates compelled to retreat—Peace concluded—Death of Louis.

THE excellent administration of Suger, the Abbot of St Dennis, had maintained the affairs of Louis le Jeune in a reasonably good condition at home, notwithstanding the absence of the king, with the great portion of his forces, which he had so imprudently led to the distant wars of Palestine. But when the news arrived that the whole, or almost the whole, of that huge army had perished, without a single feat of any kind which could add honour to their nation, excepting the single action of the Mæander, the general voice of the nation accused the king of incapacity; and it was suggested, amid the burst of universal discontent, that, like some of his predecessors, the reigning monarch should be dethroned, and committed to a cloister. The Comte de Dreux, brother of King Louis, who had returned from the Holy Land a short time before

him, had greatly contributed to the increase of the national displeasure, by intrigues which had for their object his brother's crown; and it was the rumour of such practices which recalled Louis from Syria, after a protracted stay in that country. These dissensions between the royal brothers were with some difficulty composed, so soon as the return of Louis had rendered the Comte de Dreux's plans desperate. But there remained the rooted quarrel between the king and his wealthy and haughty wife Queen Eleanor, which now began to assume the appearance of an open rupture. Without supposing, with the French historians, that Louis had actual grounds for his jealousy, it is certain he was an object of personal dislike to his wife, who declared that his rigid morals and ascetic devotion were those of a monk, not of a cavalier, and expressed for him an aversion mingled with contempt, which, on his part, was calculated to excite a strong suspicion that she entertained a preference for another. Louis seems also to have shared in

the scruples, which Eleanor only affected, respecting their too near relationship, and both the royal consorts began to consider the dissolution of their marriage as desirable on many accounts.

The sagacious Abbot of St Dennis foresaw, that in gratifying his own and Eleanor's personal dislike, by consenting to a separation, Louis must inevitably subject himself to the necessity of restoring the ample dominions of Aquitaine, which the princess had inherited from her father; and the far-sighted minister might also reasonably fear, that, once at liberty, she might confer them, along with her hand, on some one whose possession of so fair a portion of the territory of France might prove dangerous to the sovereign, and that the king must, therefore, act very imprudently in giving way to the restitution by consenting to the divorce. For these reasons, the Abbot Suger bent the whole of his political genius to accommodate matters between Louis and the queen, and although he was unable to accomplish the

desired reconciliation, he found means to prevail on them to live together on decent terms, until death deprived Louis of his services.

Soon after this event, the royal pair openly declared themselves desirous of a separation. In the motives alleged on the king's side, nothing was said of the reports against Eleanor's character. But in secret Louis justified his conduct to those who censured him for parting with his wife, along with the unavoidable necessity of restoring the duchy of Aquitaine, by alleging the irregularity of her life, and dishonour of being connected with her. A council of the French national church held at Baugencé, having taken cognisance of the scruples of conscience entertained, or affected, by the royal pair, and having considered their nearness of blood, declared their marriage unlawful, though it had already subsisted more than sixteen years, and although two daughters, who had been the fruit of the union, were by the sentence rendered illegitimate. The decree of the Council of Baugencé was confirmed by the Pope; and

the marriage between Louis and Eleanor was accordingly formally annulled. Louis had now ample time to remark, and perhaps to regret, the consequence of his imprudence.

Eleanor was reinvested as heiress to her father in Guienne, Gascony, Poitou, and other extensive territories belonging to his dukedom of Aquitaine. Nevertheless, though having once more the power of bestowing an ample property with her hand, Louis flattered himself that her behaviour had been so scandalous, that there was not a gentleman in the kingdom so poor in fortune and spirit as to take her to wife, though sure thereby to become Duke of Aquitaine. He was much deceived; for his late consort had, even before her divorce was concluded, secured for herself a second match, and that with a prince rich in present possessions, yet more so in future expectations; and, what must have been peculiarly gratifying to Eleanor's vindictive temper, to a prince, the increasing whose strength was, in fact, the diminishing that of Louis, to whom the object of her se-

cond choice was, by birth, a natural opponent. In a word, the person on whom she fixed her election was Henry Plantagenet, eldest son of Matilda, sole surviving child of Henry I., King of England, and heir to his mother's pretensions to his grandfather's kingdom.

You cannot have forgotten that Henry had declared Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V. of Germany, the heiress of his kingdom, and strengthened her right, by choosing for her second husband Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. But the object of Henry I. was for some time thwarted by the ambition of Stephen, Earl of Mortagne, who forcibly set aside the rights of Matilda and her son, and intruded himself into the throne, where, for a period of sixteen years, he supported himself by his own bravery, and the swords of a great body of barons, to whom the confusion of a civil war was more profitable than the good order and strict government of a lawful monarch and a profound peace. In 1146, the fortune of war had passed so much to Stephen's side, A.D. 1146.

that the Empress Matilda, with her son Henry, who, though a mere youth, began to show strong symptoms of the wisdom and courage which afterwards distinguished him, were compelled to retreat to Normandy, which Geoffrey, the husband of Matilda, and father of Henry, then ruled as duke, in right of his wife. Upon the proposal of the Earl of Anjou, that his wife and he should cede their right in Normandy to their son, the King of France was prevailed upon to admit young Henry as vassal into the duchy of Normandy, on consideration of his surrendering a frontier district of that province, called the Vexin, which Louis considered as a cession of such importance, that, by way of acknowledgment, he aided Henry with a body of troops for putting him into possession
A.D. 1150. of the rest of the fief.

Louis had hardly received Henry Plantagenet as a new vassal in the duchy of Normandy, when he had a quarrel with Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, that prince's father; and repenting what he had done in Henry's be-

half, he invited to Normandy, Eustace, son of King Stephen, promising to assist him in possessing himself of that same duchy, although he had so lately granted the investiture to Henry. The prudent advice of Suger, who then still lived, brought about an accommodation of these perplexed affairs. A suspension of arms was agreed to; young Eustace was sent back to England, highly incensed at the usage he received from Louis; and Henry's right to Normandy was once again fully recognised.

Presently after this accommodation, Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, died. To Henry he left A.D. 1151. his earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, under the condition, that in case he should obtain full possession of his mother's royal inheritance of England, he must become bound to cede the French dominions of Anjou to his second brother, named Geoffrey after his father.

Thus, at the period of the divorce of Louis, when Eleanor cast her eyes upon Henry Plantagenet to be her second husband, he

was, in actual possession, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and therefore no unfit mate for the heiress of Aquitaine. But the circumstances attending a diminution of rank from that which she held in her first marriage, were mortifying, to say the least. We cannot therefore doubt, that the brilliant prospect of the crown of England, to which Henry had so just a claim, supported by a strong party of friends in that kingdom, had no slight share in recommending her second choice to the ambitious Eleanor. In other respects, there was some inequality. The bridegroom was only twenty years of age; the bride had attained the riper period of thirty, and upwards. But, in the case of so wealthy an heiress, Henry did not let his taste for youth interfere with his sense of interest. As to the scandals propagated concerning Eleanor at the French court, Henry treated, or affected to treat, them with an indifference and contempt, which perhaps they justly deserved.

By her union with Henry, Eleanor con-

ferred on him the two duchies of Guienne and Gascony, with the earldom of Poitou, and their extensive dependencies. His subjects in these new dominions regarded the choice of their duchess with applause, for the character of Henry, both for courage and prudence, stood as high as that of any prince then living; while the misfortunes of Louis in the crusade had tarnished his character; and his simplicity in parting with Eleanor, and thus throwing so rich a prize into the hands of a hereditary rival, was so generally felt, that it is said by some historians, that the epithet of *le Jeune*, or the Young, was conferred on him for his want of prudence on this occasion, and not merely to distinguish him from his father. A.D. 1152.

The scales fell from the eyes of Louis when he perceived to what a height of power Henry Plantagenet had been raised by this unexpected match. He became, of new, impatient to weaken, or rather to ruin him. For that purpose, the French King engaged in a league with his brother the

Earl of Dreux, with Eustace, son of King Stephen, with the Earl of Blois, and with Geoffrey Plantagenet, Henry's own brother, for the purpose of despoiling the young Duke of Normandy of his dominions, and dividing them among themselves.

But this iniquitous league had no better success than it deserved. Henry at once protected his own country of Normandy against the confederates by whom he was invaded, and extinguished an insurrection which his brother Geoffrey had excited in Anjou. The latter prince, whose defection was equally unreasonable and unnatural, was compelled to make the most humble submission. To the admiration of all, Henry's conduct, notwithstanding his youth, was equally marked with the political wisdom and sagacity which prepare for success, and with the firmness and audacity, which seldom fail to command it. He endeavoured, by every degree of decent respect and becoming moderation, to give Louis a fair pretence of withdrawing from a war which had already

disgusted him with its want of success. But, ere the negotiation between them was entirely concluded, a crisis arrived, which demanded the attention of the younger prince elsewhere: Henry received intelligence from England, that Wallingford Castle, the most important of those fortresses which were yet held by his family partisans in that kingdom, was now closely besieged by King Stephen, while the governor, Brian Fitzcompte, sent word to Henry, demanding either relief, or permission to surrender the castle. Leaving the greater part of his forces to defend his French dominions, in case of any renewed attempt from the confederates, Henry embarked for England with three thousand infantry, and a hundred and fifty chosen knights. His presence, though with so small a body of forces, revived the spirits of his confederates. Malmesbury, Warwick, and thirty castles of inferior strength, surrendered to the son of Matilda, and grandson of Henry. The civil war was revived throughout England with fury, when it was suddenly

put a stop to by the death of Eustace, son of Stephen. The death of this young man, for whose interests, as his successor, his father Stephen had maintained the contest, removed a great impediment to peace, which was accordingly concluded on moderate terms. Stephen, now aged and childless, was allowed to retain the crown during his lifetime, on condition that he adopted Henry for his son, heir, and successor. This arrangement having settled the succession of England in favour of Henry, he returned to the continent with the same speed with which he had come from thence, in order to prepare against the attempts of Louis, who, always malevolent to his divorced wife's second husband, was threatening to renew the war in France to embarrass his treaty with Stephen. For this purpose, too, the French king excited commotions in Aquitaine. These were soon appeased by Henry, on his arrival, and he contrived, by some acceptable services performed to the King of France, in his quality of Duke of Normandy, to render even the

suspicious Louis once more satisfied with his conduct as a dutiful vassal.

Henry was soon after established on the English throne, by the sudden death which removed from that situation his competitor, Stephen, whose whole reign had been a continued civil war, which had its source in usurpation, and was carried on with much fury and bloodshed, as well as incalculable detriment to both the kingdoms. Thus possessed of as much real power, and of more wealth than the King of France, Henry II., with a sagacity which overcame all desire to display his superiority, proposed a match betwixt his eldest son, Prince Henry, and Margaret, daughter of Louis le Jeune, by his second wife, Constantia, Princess of Castille, whom he had married, after the declaration of the Council of Baugencé had annulled his union with Eleanor of Aquitaine.

The prince and princess were mere children; but it was customary in those days to arrange contracts of marriage betwixt persons of their station many years before the

age of the contracting parties permitted them to be carried into effect. Henry, affecting to consider himself as the honoured party in this union, lavished valuable gifts on all about the French court, whose good opinion or favourable sentiments could forward his negotiation. His liberality extended itself even to the doctors of the university of Paris, the students, and the principal citizens. In every case of ceremony or etiquette, it was the policy of Henry to pay Louis the most ceremonious attention, and to disguise, under the observances of a respectful vassal, that formidable authority which must otherwise have rendered him an object of suspicion and jealousy to his lord paramount. He even gratified Louis's passion for a holy war, engaging to assist that monarch with all his forces, in a crusade to be directed not against the infidels of the east, but for the purpose of driving the Moors out of Spain. Henry, however, who only meant to flatter the King of France, extricated himself from the execution of his

engagement, by persuading Pope Adrian, with whom he had secret influence, to express disapprobation of the undertaking.

But while punctiliously accurate in rendering all respectful homage to Louis as his sovereign, the English monarch was cautiously enlarging his own territories, and adding to his real power. He exerted authoritatively his rights as lord paramount over Bretagne, which, since the time of Rollo, had been a feudal dependence on Normandy, and he negotiated for a fresh surrender of the Vexin, that district which his mother Matilda had yielded up to Louis as the price of his own first investiture of the dukedom. This strong frontier he stipulated should be the dowery of the Princess Margaret. And in other cases where actual power could be attained, or a desirable object of ambition offered itself, Henry never allowed this ceremonious deference to the will of his superior to interfere for an instant with its gratification. Thus in 1159, the King of England resolved to assert a pretended right to the city and

earldom of Toulouse, as a fief and dependency of the dukedom of Aquitaine, which had been pledged to the present earl by Queen Eleanor's father, and which, in quality of her husband, he now set up a right to redeem. This claim, weak in point of justice, he resolved to make good with the arms of Normandy, Guienne, and England. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, the crown vassal, thus threatened, applied to the King of France, whose sister he had married, for protection against a prince, whose forces he was unable to resist; and Louis, on offering his interposition, was startled to find that Henry, so deferential and tractable in matters of small importance, was pertinacious in an equal degree in objects of magnitude. Louis had nearly been convinced of the real character of his vassal in a manner highly unpleasing. Determining to support Count Raymond against Henry, the King of France threw himself into the city of Toulouse, with a handful of soldiers, trusting that veneration for his person would withhold his vassal from any at-

tempt on the city where he raised his own standard. Henry's forces were in readiness for the siege, and most likely he might, by a sudden attack, have made himself master of Toulouse, and of the person of Louis, thus imprudently hazarded within it. The question was debated in Henry's council, when some statesmen insisted on the sanctimonious respect which was due to the lord paramount. They were answered by the unscrupulous Becket, then chancellor, and a favourite minister of Henry: "Advance banners," said he, "my noble liege; the King of France laid aside his title to your obedience as a vassal, the instant he levelled a spear against you." Henry listened with a longing disposition to follow the uncompromising advice of the daring statesman. But he reflected that he was himself at the head of an army assembled only by his feudal power, and that it would be perilous to show in his own person any contempt for that fealty to the superior, upon which his own authority rested. There was also

to be considered the risk of offending all the crown vassals of France, who were likely to witness with resentment the imprisonment of their common liege lord the king, by one of their own number. Upon the whole, with that exquisite prudence which regulated Henry's conduct, he turned reluctantly aside from the siege of Toulouse, alleging as a motive the respect he entertained for the person of the lord paramount, who was within the city. Louis was flattered by his moderation, and peace was shortly afterwards made, on condition of Henry retaining considerable conquests, made at the expense of the Count of Toulouse, to whom he granted, at the request, as he carefully stated, of the King of France, a truce for the short space only of one single year.

A.D. 1159.

The two monarchs were so thoroughly reconciled, as to admit of their acting in concert concerning a matter of great importance to Christianity. You are to understand, that the Emperor of Germany had down to this period always claimed the right of nomina-

ting, or, at least of confirming, the appointment of the Popes to the Bishopric of Rome. This high privilege they exercised, as it descended to them with the empire of Charlemagne. It was often disputed by the Popes, who were extremely desirous to deprive a laic prince of a privilege which they alleged was inconsistent with the liberties of the church, and contended that the election of the Pope lay in the choice of the College of Cardinals. By their obstinate opposition, supported by many wars, the popes had deprived the emperor of almost all vestige of this privilege. But a double and disputed election having occurred in 1160, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa took upon him so far the right of his ancestors, as to summon a council of the church to determine which of the two candidates, Alexander III. or Victor IV., was lawfully elected to the Holy See. Frederick declared in favour of Victor, which induced the Kings of France and England, jealous of so high an exertion of authority on the part of Germany, to espouse

A.D. 1160.

the cause of his opponent. Their favoured candidate Alexander came in person to France, where he found Henry and Louis in arms to defend his cause, in case the emperor should attempt to support Victor by force. The two kings received him with the respect due to the head of the church, that is, with tokens of the utmost deference. They walked in person each by a stirrup of the pontiff's saddle, as he rode towards a magnificent tent, in which he was accommodated. "It was a sight," says the Catholic historian Baronius, "for God, angels, and men —a triumph such as had never before been seen in this world." Alexander afterwards held a great council of the church at the city of Tours. But the emperor, and the kings of the north of Europe, remained determined in their election of Victor, and the schism that arose from the dispute divided Christendom into two factions, and deluged Italy with blood. Alexander was so far grateful to his adherents, that he lent his intercession to place on a surer footing than it had

yet assumed, the peace between the two kings.

Hitherto there had been little sincerity in the apparent good understanding between Henry and Louis, and we have mentioned many wars between them, interrupted by truces, which, though the patience and prudence of Henry sometimes soothed Louis's suspicions for a time, never, or seldom, failed to be succeeded by new subjects of disagreement. In all these disputes, Henry, more prudent, more wealthy, above all, more fortunate, had, either by war or negotiation, or both, enlarged his own territories at the expense of those of Louis. But in the latter part of this great king's life, the clouds of adversity seemed to gather round him, and fortune, as is frequently the case, turned from him when his hairs became gray. A very serious part of Henry II.'s misfortunes arose from his disputes with his ancient minister and favourite, Thomas a Becket.

This wily churchman had been able to conceal his real character from Henry, by

appearing in an assumed one while serving as his chancellor, very nearly after the manner in which the English monarch himself had occasionally persuaded Louis that he was a faithful and devoted vassal to the French crown. At this period, as we have partly seen, the See of Rome was making the widest and most fatal encroachments upon the authority of the temporal princes of Europe, and Henry was naturally desirous of making the best stand he yet could against the extravagant claims of the Church of Rome. It was of the utmost consequence in this species of contest, that the see of Canterbury should be filled by a prelate favourable to the monarch, and willing to countenance his interests in any discussions he might have with the Pope. Henry thought, therefore, that when the Archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant by the death of the incumbent Theobald, he could not secure his own interest better, than by raising his chancellor, Becket, to that situation. This minister had always seemed to possess the manners of a soldier, a states-

man, and a politician, rather than of a churchman. We have already seen, that he entertained no scruples in advising the king to bold and arbitrary measures against his lord paramount, Louis; and, judging from his conduct before Toulouse, Henry expected from him no opposition to his will in matters where a more zealous primate might, perhaps, have given him trouble, by interference in any differences which might arise with the Pope.

But no sooner had the king, with considerable difficulty, obtained the election of his favourite to the archbishopric, by the monks of Canterbury and the suffragan bishops of that see, than he was presently satisfied what an unhappy choice he had made of the head of the Anglican church. Becket, who had hitherto concealed, under a cloak of apparent loyalty and devotion to his sovereign, as much ambition as ever animated the breast of a proud man, now affected an extremity of zeal for the rights and privileges of the Church of Rome, as the mode by which he intended to

rise to the dignity, perhaps, of the papal tiara itself, and distinguished himself by the audacity which he displayed on all possible questions in which he could assert the immunities of the church against the prerogative of the king. The particulars of their various and obstinate quarrels must be looked for in the History of England, where it forms an interesting page, and not in that of France, which we are now engaged with. Suffice it to say in this place, that Thomas a Becket having carried to the uttermost his opposition to the king's authority, Henry, whose temper was impatient and hasty, was at last induced to express himself thus inconsiderately :—"Have I no faithful servant who will rid me of this upstart and arrogant priest?" Four knights of his royal household, men habituated to blood and slaughter, caught at the hint contained, as they apprehended, in these rash words. They rode to Canterbury, and after some exchange of threatening language, slew the archbishop at the foot of the high altar, where he was officiating.

Although the king had no concern in this rash and desperate action, excepting the blame of having spoken inadvertently the rash words by which it was occasioned, he suffered the whole evil consequences which could have attached to the voluntary author and instigator of such an impiety. The cruelty of the actors was compared with the courage of the sufferer, who, whether sustained by his personal courage, or by the sincere belief that he was acting in the faithful discharge of his duty, had displayed the most undaunted composure throughout the whole bloody transaction. Superstition added to the terrors of the deed, and Becket was pronounced, not merely an innocent churchman, slain in defence of the privileges of his order, but a pious saint, who had been murdered in the cause of Heaven and Christianity. The credulity or the craft of the monks, his contemporaries, saw in their late suffering brother a glorified martyr, at whose tomb, and at the place where he was slain, the sick were cured, the blind received sight, and the lame walked.

All these gross exaggerations were believed at the time, and the king was overwhelmed by the torrent of odium which he suffered on account of Becket's death, insomuch that he was fain to yield up the honourable, manly, and able defence, which he had hitherto made against the papal usurpations, in order to obtain a reconciliation with the church on the most unfavourable conditions.

By these articles, the king was obliged to pay a large sum of money, and engage in a crusade against the infidels, either in Palestine or Spain; above all, to permit, what he had hitherto strongly resisted, an appeal to the Pope in all things ecclesiastical. He became bound to restore the friends of Becket to his favour, and finally, to discharge a most humiliating and disgraceful penance, in evidence of his sorrow for the rash words which proved the cause of the murder.

Louis, King of France, was not idle during an interval when his ancient enemy's usual good fortune seemed to desert him, and when the boasted sagacity of Henry appeared en-

tangled with embarrassments, from which it could not extricate him. The French king was neither slow in seeking out a just cause of quarrel, nor in the choice of means by which to prosecute it. He at first pretended displeasure against Henry for having caused his eldest son to be crowned in England as successor to that kingdom, while the wife of that young prince, Margaret, Princess of France, was still in her native country. But Henry deprived Louis of that pretence for a rupture, by expressing his willingness to repeat the ceremony of coronation.

The King of France then adopted a more subtle, but certainly most unjustifiable mode of assailing an adversary who had proved too powerful for him while he followed the ordinary rules of open hostility. Louis requested the presence of his daughter and his son-in-law, the younger Henry, for some time at the French court. The English princes of the Norman race were never remarkable for domestic affection; and, from the time of the Conqueror downward, it had been no un-

usual thing in that house to see the son in arms against the father. Louis, therefore, found no great difficulty in insinuating into the mind of the younger Henry, that his father kept the throne too long, and did not indulge him, though crowned, with a sufficient share of independent power. When the young prince returned to England, he instilled the same spirit of unnatural ambition into his brothers, Richard (afterwards the renowned Cœur de Lion,) and Geoffrey. John, the fourth and youngest brother, was not of age to take a share in the family quarrel. But Queen Eleanor, the mother of the princes, had been for some time dissatisfied with the share which the king allowed to her in his councils and affections; and, as we have already alluded to her arrogant and vindictive disposition, you must not wonder if she took all the means in her power to inflame the bad passions of her three elder sons, and induce them to unite in a league with the King of France against their father.

The pretext used by Louis le Jeune for

thus setting up the title of the son against the father, was, that when Henry, called the young king, was crowned, Henry II. was, by the same ceremony, deprived of the sovereign power, which was thereby transferred to his son. Yet Louis knew, that the coronation of a son during his father's lifetime was by no means to be understood as inferring the vacation of the throne on the part of the latter, but only an acknowledgment of the son's right in the succession to the authority which the father continued to hold during his life.

The King of Scotland was engaged in the same confederacy, and several of the great barons of England were ripe for rebellion. This formidable league was entered into at a time when Henry was on the worst terms with the Pope, and odious to all the priest-ridden part of his subjects, on account of the death of Becket. It was even thought, so general was the disaffection, that Henry II. would have had difficulty in raising an army among his feudatories. But he had been a

prudent economist, and now made the treasures he had amassed the means of saving his throne at this conjuncture, without trusting to those vassals who might have betrayed his cause. He hired a large body of German mercenaries, men who now for many years had gained a living by their swords, and who were ready to embrace the cause of any prince in Europe who required their services, and was willing to pay for them.

At the head of these forces, and seconded by his own admirable rapidity of action, which was so great, that his antagonist, Louis, confessed that the English prince seemed rather to fly, than to sail or to march, Henry took the field. He opposed himself everywhere to his enemies, defeated the rebels, and, offering battle to the great head of the confederacy, had the pleasure to see Louis le Jeune retreat before him, with much abatement of honour. Henry brought his mind also, in the midst of these difficulties, to submit to the most degrading part of the penance inflicted on account of Becket's death; not, we may

well suppose, that so wise a prince could really have entertained compunction for the very slight share which he had in the death of a rebellious and turbulent priest, but because he was aware of the interest he would gain in the hearts of his people, by their supposing him fully reconciled with Heaven, for what they considered a great crime.

When the king came within sight of the tower of the Cathedral of Canterbury, he dismounted from horseback, and proceeded to the shrine of Becket, barefooted, over a flinty road, which he stained with his blood. When he kneeled before the tomb of his old enemy, whose life had cost him so much trouble, and whose death had been yet a deeper source of embarrassment, he submitted to be publicly scourged by the monks of the convent, and by other churchmen present, from each of whom he received three or four stripes on his bare shoulders. In consequence of these, and other austere penances, Henry incurrred a short fit of illness. But he appears to have conceived that he had

A.D. 1174.

entirely reconciled himself with Thomas a Becket, for, as that person became rather a fashionable saint in foreign countries, Henry, on more than one occasion, accompanied to the shrine several persons of high rank, who came from the continent to worship there; acting thus as a sort of master of ceremonies to his former chancellor, whom, indeed, he had the principal hand in raising to his state of beatitude. Notwithstanding all this apparent submission, Henry retained in private his own opinion on Becket's conduct. A bishop having rashly and hastily excommunicated one of his nobles, the king advised his prelates to avoid precipitance on such occasions. "There may be more bishops killed for their arrogance," said the king, significantly, "than the calendar of saints can find room for."

To Louis le Jeune, who was soon tired of wars, if long protracted and unsuccessful, it appeared that the good fortune of Henry was returning in its usual high tide, and it was consistent with his own character, to ascribe it to the reconciliation of his enemy with

Thomas a Becket. It is certain that, a very few days after his penance, Henry received tidings of an action near Durham, in which William, King of Scotland, became prisoner to his northern barons; and, in the very same year, Louis had himself a nearer instance of Henry's reviving good fortune, when the English monarch relieved Rouen, then closely besieged, and compelled the joint armies of France and Flanders to retire from before it.

This chain of events had a practical effect upon the king of France. He sent ambassadors to treat for peace, to which Henry, satisfied with his success, and conscious at what risk he had won it, willingly assented. He settled liberal appanages upon the three young princes, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, and endeavoured to secure their affections in future, by even profuse allowances of domains and revenues.

The greatest satisfaction which Louis received from a peace, in which all the objects for which the war was undertaken were relinquished, was the hope that Henry might

be induced to join him in a mutual crusade; so fondly was his imagination, though now that of an aged man, bent upon the subject which had occupied his youth. Henry, on his part, was under the necessity of apparently consenting to this wild proposal; for it was a part of the penance enjoined him for the death of Becket, that he should take the cross and pass to the Holy Land, whenever commanded to do so by the Pope. The Pontiff, therefore, having joined the solicitation of Louis, it was not in the King of England's choice to evade the summons. Regulations were accordingly adopted between the two monarchs, for arranging their mutual relations, in the manner most suitable to the success of their undertaking. There is little doubt, however, that Henry, though the authority of the Pope was at present too great to be openly disputed, was secretly determined to take every opportunity, or pretext, that might occur, to postpone, and finally to evade, carrying into actual effect this useless and perilous expedition.

The French King, on the contrary, was perfectly serious in his idea of renewing, conjoined with Henry, the rash and ruinous attempt of his youth, and was determined to provide for the government of his kingdom in his absence, by crowning his son Philip, a youth of the highest expectations, as his associate and successor in the French throne.

A singular circumstance prevented the ceremony: The young prince, Philip, who was to be the principal actor in it, was separated from his attendants, while on a hunting party, in the Forest of Compeigne, lost his way among the wild and solitary woods, and wandered there all night. The youth was exhausted by fatigue, and severely affected by the agony of mind which he had undergone. The consequence was a dangerous illness. The remedies of Louis le Jeune, for every emergency, were always tinged with superstition; and, in the hope of aiding his son's recovery, he vowed a pilgrimage to the popular shrine of Thomas a Becket, where he paid his devotions with

valuable offerings, and, among others, a grant to the convent of a hundred tuns of French wine annually,—an acceptable provision, no doubt, for the comfort of the monks. He instantly returned to France, and was escorted by King Henry, as far as Dover. On reaching home, he found his son recovered, the renown of which greatly added to the resort of pilgrims to the tomb of Thomas a Becket.

A.D. 1179.

The sickness was, however, only transferred from the son to the father, for Louis himself was struck with a palsy. The coronation of Philip took place soon afterwards, though his father could not be present, and it was remarkable that Philip, weak from his late illness, being oppressed with the weight of the crown, Henry the younger, of England, lent his assistance to support it upon the young king's head. With what internal feelings he might perform this feudal service, may be at least doubtful; for, in case of the death of this, the only son of Louis le Jeune, the same Prince Henry, if his wife, Margaret, should be found capable of succes-

sion, was next heir to the crown he sustained, at his brother-in-law's coronation. In the next year, Louis le Jeune died. He was a prince of many excellent personal qualities, brave, well-meaning, temperate, and honest; but he was neither a general nor a politician, and his devotion was of so superstitious a character, that, while his conscience scrupled to transgress the most trivial forms, he could, on the first important occasion, if policy seemed to render it advantageous, break his faith without scruple, in matters of the most weighty moral obligation. A.D. 1180.

CHAP. II.

Accession, and wise Measures of Philip—Death of Henry of England, and Accession of Richard Coeur de Lion—Philip and Richard unite in a Crusade to the Holy Land—State of the East at this period—Siege of Acre—Dissensions among the Leaders of the Crusade—Philip's return to Europe—Splendid Achievements of Richard—his recall to Europe—his Imprisonment, and Liberation—his War with Philip, and Death—Accession of John—Philip's double Marriage—Cruelty of John in suppressing an Insurrection of his Nephew Arthur in Guienne—the aggrieved Parties complain to Philip, who takes the field, and deprives John of the whole of his possessions in France—In consequence of this success, Philip gains the title of Augustus, and resolves to conquer England—Dispute between John and the Pope—Philip declares himself the Champion of the

Pope, and assembles a large Army to invade England—John's submission to the Pope—Philip turns his arms against Flanders, but is worsted—Confederacy against the increasing power of France, between King John, the Emperor Otho, and the Earls of Flanders, Boulogne, Toulouse, and Auvergne—Defeat of the Allies at Bouvines—Philip's treatment of his Prisoners—Truce with England—Crusades against the Albigenses—Unpopularity of King John—The Barons of England offer to transfer their Allegiance to Louis, the son of Philip—Louis's Invasion of England—Death of John, and Accession of Henry III.—Defeat of Louis at Lincoln—He withdraws his claim to England, and, retiring to France, engages in a Crusade against the Albigenses—Death of Philip.

PHILIP, the son of Louis le Jeune, was a prince possessing so many kingly qualities, that, in French history, he is distinguished from other monarchs of the same name, by the imperial title of Augustus; and not unjustly, since it was chiefly by his means that the royal house of France recovered that

influence in their empire which, during the life of Louis, had been in a great measure overshaded by the predominance of the house of Anjou, whose power, carefully augmented by the wisdom of Henry II., had placed that monarch in the situation rather of a rival than a vassal of the King of France. On Philip's accession to the throne, he was not yet fifteen years of age; and it is probable he felt that his extreme youth, joined to the feebleness of his father's character, was likely to render the authority of the crown contemptible, unless respect was to be ensured to it by the firmness and gravity of the prince who wore it.

Accordingly, the first public measure of Philip was one of a more severe character than could have been expected from so young a monarch. All jesters, jugglers, and buffoons, whose idle occupation it was to encourage dissipation and misuse of time, were banished from the court by a solemn edict, which the king caused to be rigorously enforced. By this his people learned that their

young king proposed to assume the masculine gravity of a more advanced age, and remove from about his person all incentives to the light taste and unprofitable follies of youth.

In another of his early measures, Philip consulted, in an eminent degree, the advantage of his subjects and realm. The constant wars of France, a country which seldom remained at rest for a year together, without the assembling of forces upon some pretence or other, had given occasion to the association of numerous vagrant bands of men, whose profession was arms, and who, without any regard to the cause in which they served, or the monarch to whom they rendered obedience, were ready to engage their skill and valour in behalf of any prince who was willing to employ them. They were, generally, experienced and approved soldiers, and piqued themselves on maintaining strict fidelity during the terms of their engagement, and serving with loyalty the prince to whom they were hired. Such mercenaries, were, there-

fore, a needful but perilous resource during this time of constant war, and even the politic and sagacious Henry II., when hard pressed by the league formed against him by Louis le Jeune, found his safety in recruiting his exhausted army with great numbers of these mercenary bands. But although a necessary, at least a prompt and useful resource to princes in time of war, nothing could be more oppressive to the people in the season of peace, than the existence of numerous bands of various nations leading an idle and dissolute life, at the expense of the oppressed peasantry, and breaking every law of regulated society, without a possibility of bringing them to justice except by a pitched battle. Where their depredations were withstood, they naturally drew their bands closer together, laid the country under contribution, and obliged the cities, on peril of assault and pillage, to pay large sums for their maintenance. These troops of lawless depredators were distinguished by the names of Cotterauux, Brabançons, Routiers, and Tavardins.

Philip commanded his soldiers to assist the burghers of the good towns against these disorderly freebooters, and he himself engaged and defeated them in one great action, in which nine thousand were slain in the battle and flight. By these exertions, this wasting plague of the country was in a great measure checked and reformed, although it continued to be an existing grievance until a much later period of French history.

With the same attention to the public advantage, Philip compelled the citizens of the large towns to pave their streets, and to surround their cities with walls and fortifications, so as to ensure the power of repulsing the attacks of these roving brigands. The burghers disliked the expense of labour and treasure laid out upon this important object. But the king in person made a circuit around the cities of his kingdom, to enforce the execution of his wholesome edicts, and at the same time reduced to order such of the nobility, as, availing themselves of the late king's illness, had been guilty of usurpation

upon each other, or encroachment on the authority of the sovereign.

The measures he pursued for the public good, gave a favourable character to the reign of Philip Augustus. His intercourse with his contemporary princes was not so uniformly praiseworthy.

It must be supposed, that Henry of England entertained no small apprehension of the increasing influence of a young prince, who, with better judgment than his father Louis, entertained the same jealousy of the overgrown power of his vassal of Normandy. These apprehensions became yet more alarming, when the King of England found that his children, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, to whom John, the youngest of the brethren, now joined himself, were engaged in intrigues with the King of France, in order to obtain a portion of Henry's English dominions, as a reward for lending their assistance to Philip, to strip their father of the whole. Embarrassing as were these unnatural cabals, the manner in which the King of England was

freed from them in the case of Henry, his eldest son, was yet more afflicting to the father. An express brought the news that his son had indeed repented of his filial ingratitude, but it was coupled with the tidings that the youth lay on his death-bed, and implored his father's blessing and forgiveness. So great was the king's suspicion of those about the younger Henry, that he was afraid to intrust his royal person in their hands, even on this pressing occasion. Controlling, therefore, his desire to fly to the sick-bed of his son, the king sent him his pardon, his blessing, and a ring of gold, as a well-known token to assure him of both. The dying penitent, to show the sincerity of his repentance, tied a halter about his neck, arrayed himself in sackcloth, and commanded himself to be stretched upon a layer of ashes, and in this manner expired. A.D. 1183.

The aged king swooned away three times upon hearing of the death of his son, and broke into the most unbounded lamentations. Besides the strength of natural affection, Hen-

ry, doubtless, considered his eldest son, when he should be recalled to the obedience he owed his father, as the most likely to assert and maintain his high place as a vassal of the French crown. He had by no means the same confidence in the talents of his other sons, and was thus altogether inconsolable for the death of his eldest born.

New wars and misunderstandings between France and England arose on a pretence not of an upright nature, on the part of Henry. Adelaide, sister to Philip, King of France, had been for some time residing at the court of England, under the paction that she was to be united to Richard, now the eldest surviving son of Henry II. But for some reasons, not now easily ascertained, the King of England repeatedly postponed the marriage, so as to bring himself under the suspicion that he entertained a passion for the young princess, neither agreeable to his understanding or years. King Philip now demanded at the sword's point the settlement of his sister's marriage. Other causes of discontent con-

stantly arising between so powerful a superior and so haughty a vassal, exasperated the dispute on both sides; nor did the talents of Henry, whom age had somewhat deprived of his activity, preserve the same ascendence over the youthful Philip, which they had exercised over his father Louis le Jeune. The engagement by which both monarchs were bound to embark in a joint crusade, suspended the progress of their private wars. But, notwithstanding, a singular incident showed how inveterate was the quarrel between their subjects as well as themselves. A.D. 1188.

The monarchs had met in a personal conference in a plain near Gisors, the frontier of their dominions, destitute of shade, except that of a single venerable elm tree, which grew on the Norman side of the boundary. The sun was burning hot; but, instead of admitting his liege sovereign, the King of France, to a share of the shadow of the elm-tree, Henry, with less than his usual courtesy, protected himself and his party from the heat under the boughs, from which

they excluded Philip and his followers. The French, incensed at this assumption of superiority, though in a matter so trifling, and further provoked by the raillery of Henry's attendants, suddenly charged the English sword in hand. Henry escaped with difficulty to the castle of Gisors, several of his attendants were slain in his defence, and Philip caused the elm to be cut down, in token of his victory. In other actions, though of slight importance, Philip also gained some superiority, the rather that Richard, the son of Henry, desirous of being wedded to the Princess Adelaide, took part with the King of France against his father. Henry's youngest son, John, proved also disobedient, like his other children, but in a more unprovoked and unjustifiable degree. The King of England's health was innovated upon by defeats and disgraces, to which his earlier years had been altogether strangers. His feelings were racked by the sense of his children's ingratitude, and his body at the same time attacked by a fever. On his death-bed, he declared that

Geoffrey, his natural son, whom he had created chancellor, was the only one of his family who had acted towards him uniformly with filial respect and obedience. In this melancholy state, grief and mortification aided the progress of the fever which raged in his veins; and the death of this great and intelligent prince removed from the growing and increasing power of Philip one of the greatest obstacles to the success of his reign.

The King of France, relieved from one of his most constant enemies, now formed a close alliance with Richard, (called, from his courage, Cœur de Lion,) who, succeeding to King Henry's crown, and full of youthful love of adventure, made himself a voluntary party to the fatal expedition for the restoration of the fallen kingdom of Jerusalem, which his father had engaged in so unwillingly, and so frequently postponed. Philip of France readily adopted him as brother and companion of his enterprise. The characters of these kings had a near resemblance to each other. Both were

brave, skilful in war, ambitious, and highly desirous of honour. Both also appear to have been, upon religious principle, sincerely bent upon their romantic expedition. But the character of Richard united the most desperate courage with the extremity of rashness and obstinacy, which reduced his feats of valour to the extravagant and useless exploits of an actual madman; whereas Philip combined caution and policy with a high pitch of valour, and was by far a more able monarch than his rival, though displaying in a less degree the qualities of a knight of romance.

The armies of the confederate princes rendezvoused at Lyons, where Philip took the road to Italy, by crossing the Alps, in order to embark at Genoa, while Richard, with his host, took shipping at Marseilles.

At the time when the two most powerful nations of Christendom took arms for the rescue of Palestine, a country which their superstitions rendered so important to them, the fragments of the kingdom of Godfrey

of Boulogne were fast disappearing from their sight. Saladin, King, or Sultan, of Egypt, a prince as brave, and far more cool-headed and sagacious than either of the Christian kings-errant who came to attack him, and rescue Palestine from his victorious sabre, had made an eminently successful war against the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. His power had been by degrees accumulating, and the power of an Eastern despot must usually bear a proportion to his military talents. Saladin's, therefore, was considerable. He had made himself master of Egypt, and great part of Syria, and pretexts could never be wanting to assail the kingdom of Jerusalem itself, since, besides the professed animosity between the followers of Christianity and of Mahometanism, Saladin had to complain of the aggressions of a freebooting Christian baron, named Reginald de Chatillon, who had seized a fortress on the verge of the desert, from which he pillaged the Eastern caravans, and interrupted the pious journey of the Mahometan pilgrims to the tomb of their

Prophet at Mecca. Jerusalem, torn to pieces by intestine divisions, seemed to be tottering to its fall, when Saladin entered into Palestine at the head of eighty thousand men. Guy of Lusignan, a prince of no talents, had succeeded to the crown of thorns. He raised the whole force of the Holy Land to repel the invasion; but he permitted himself to be deluded by Count Raymond of Tripoli, who maintained a correspondence with Saladin. The renegade chief, or apostate, betrayed the Christian army into ground where the mail-clad knights of Europe fainted for want of water, and were overwhelmed by the arrows of the light-mounted infidels. Lusignan was made prisoner, with the loss of thirty thousand men. When, fainting with thirst and agony of mind, he was brought before Saladin, the Mahometan courteously presented him with his own cup of sherbet, cooled with ice. But when Lusignan passed the goblet in turn to Reginald de Chatillon, who had provoked the war, Saladin instantly severed the freebooter's head from his body.

"The king's cup," he said, "betokens mercy. Princes do not slaughter captive kings; but robbers like this are punished with death." Many of the military orders of Hospitallers and Templars, were also put to death. Jerusalem did not remain under the Christian power for a fortnight after the battle of Tiberias, and Saladin became master of the Holy City. A.D. 1187.

The expulsion of the Christians from Palestine was not yet completed. The strong city of Tyre was valiantly defended by Conrade of Montferrat; and the victorious Saladin was obliged to retire from before it, with considerable loss.

It could hardly be said whether the loss of Jerusalem, or the siege of Acre, had most effect in rousing to arms the warlike nations of Europe who pressed forward in hosts to revenge King Guy of Lusignan, or gain glory or martyrdom under Conrade of Montferrat. The multitude of adventurers from Europe enabled the king of Jerusalem, whom Saladin had not thought worth detaining in

captivity, to form the siege of Ptolemais, or Acre, a strong place, possessing an excellent harbour, the occupation of which might facilitate greatly the arrival of succours from Europe, which were promised on all sides. The siege of Acre had lasted till the spring of the second year. Saladin had pitched his camp, and lay with his numerous following within a few leagues of the town, and daily skirmishes took place between the contending armies. In the meantime, the new crusade, under Philip and Richard, began to roll towards the east.

The King of France appeared first on this eventful scene, but proved unequal to decide the fate of Acre, though he tried to do so by a fierce and general assault. Richard came soon after, having lingered by the way to chastise Isaac, King of Cyprus, who had offended him, and was deprived of his dominions, by way of punishment. On the arrival of King Richard before Acre, (if old romances and tradition say true,) he led his troops to the assault in person, and broke

down a postern door with his strong hand and weighty battle-axe. Leopold, Duke of Austria, also distinguished himself by his personal intrepidity, for which, as armorial bearings were then coming into use, the emperor is said to have assigned him a fesse argent, in a field gules, to express that his person had, in the assault, been covered with blood from head to foot, except the place under his sword-belt.

Saladin, who saw the fate of Acre could no longer be protracted, gave the citizens permission to make the best terms for themselves they could, and on his own part became bound to set all Christian captives at liberty, and to restore to the crusaders the cross on which our Saviour suffered,—at least a relic which bore that reputation, and which had been taken by him at the battle of Tiberias. But Saladin either could not, or did not, comply with these conditions. The impetuous Richard would hear of no delay, and put to death at once all his Mahometan prisoners, to the number of seven thou-

sand men. On account of this rashness and cruelty, Richard sustained the just blame of having occasioned the death of an equal number of Christians, prisoners to the Sultan, whom Saladin slaughtered by the way of reprisal.

While the furious Richard was thus incurring public censure, he had the mortification to see Philip acquire, at his cost, the praise of superior wisdom and moderation; for, by protecting his Mahometan prisoners alive, the French king was able to exchange them for so many captive Christians, and thus avoided an useless waste of life upon both sides. The difference between the calm, reasonable, and politic character of Philip, began to be remarked by the soldiers, and, though the common men preferred the rude, savage, and fearless character of the English monarch, the wise and experienced leaders saw higher personal qualities in his companion and rival, and accomplishments more beseeming in a prince who would make his people happy. The consciousness that they

were thus compared together, estimated, and preferred, according to men's judgment or their humour, had its usual effect of inspiring jealousy betwixt the French and English kings, nor had the common cause in which they were engaged influence enough to check their animosities.

Another cause of discontent was occasioned by Richard's violence of temper at this celebrated siege, of which he had afterwards much personal occasion to rue the consequence. When the city of Acre surrendered, Leopold, Duke of Austria, assuming upon the merit, in virtue of which a new armorial cognizance had been assigned him, caused his own banner to be displayed from the principal tower. The fierce temper of the King of England caught fire at the Austrian's arrogance, and he commanded the banner to be pulled down, and thrown into the ditch of the place. The Duke felt the indignity offered to him, but forbore to manifest any resentment till time and circumstances put in his power ample means of revenging the in-

dignity, though with little credit to his faith or manhood.

These various heartburnings gave rise to parties in the camp and council of the crusaders, where Richard attached himself to Guy de Lusignan, and Philip took the part of the gallant Conrade de Montferrat, between whom there occurred many feuds and quarrels. These divisions were so notorious, that when Conrade was slain by the daggers of two of the tribe called Assassins, being the followers of the Scheik, or Old Man of the Mountain, it was reported that they had been suborned by Richard. Philip affected to give credit to a charge inconsistent with the manly, though violent character of his rival. The French monarch selected a new body-guard, armed with iron maces, by whom he caused his person to be watched day and night. Neither were any strangers admitted to him; precautions which necessarily implied suspicions dishonourable to Cœur de Lion.

With whatever views Philip of France had originally undertaken the crusade, he

quickly found that the enterprise was of a ruinous and desperate nature, and that even the barren laurels which must suffice as a reward for health, riches, and armies wasted in Palestine, would fall in an undue share to his partner in the undertaking, whose reckless valour and insatiable desire of military renown, made Richard more fitted than his rival for the insane adventure in which they were engaged, and better qualified to meet the peculiar difficulties which they had to encounter. The arrogant and capricious character of the English king required also to be soothed and kept in temper with more attention and deference, than a monarch like Philip could find it agreeable to pay to a prince who was in some degree his inferior, in so far that he paid him homage for a large part of his dominions. Nor did it escape Philip's discernment, that if he made use at home of the troops and treasure which he was likely to expend in the fruitless prosecution of the purposes of the crusade, he might avail himself of the opportunity to an-

nex to the crown of France the fiefs of some of those great vassals who were daily falling in the wars of Palestine. He might also urge his purpose of withdrawing from the Holy War, upon grounds which promised advantage to the prosecution of it. For as he and Richard, being in one point of view of equal rank, agreed so very ill, and distracted the councils of the crusading powers by their rival pretensions and contradictory opinions, it seemed that Philip, by withdrawing from the enterprise, removed a source of disagreement which was a principal obstacle to their success. For these reasons, real or ostensible, the French king determined to return from Palestine to his own country; and to silence the reproaches of those who upbraided him with deserting the cause of Christendom, he left in Syria a strong division of ten thousand picked troops, with five hundred men-at-arms, to co-operate in the task of recovering the Holy Sepulchre.

It was necessary also to satisfy, at least to stop, the complaints of Richard, who alleged,

as a leading motive of Philip's return, his purpose of making war upon the English monarch in Normandy and his other French dominions. To escape this scandalous suspicion, the King of France, before his departure for Europe, pledged a solemn vow to King Richard, not to attack any of his dominions, nor dispossess any of his vassals, while he was absent in the crusade. Yet, when Philip passed through Rome on his return home, he made as much interest as he could with the reigning Pope, (Celestine III.,) that he might be absolved from the oath which he had pledged to Richard to the above effect.

Philip, whose first wife had died during his absence in the Holy Land, had no sooner returned to his own kingdom, than he resolved to marry for a second, Ingerberge, sister of Canute, King of Denmark. With this princess, it was his object to attain a transference of all the rights competent to her family, (descended of the famous Canute, King of England,) and obtain thereby a pretext for

invading England, as if the throne of that kingdom had been unlawfully possessed by the dynasty of Anjou. But the Danish monarch did not choose to transfer his claims, for the purpose of affording Philip the pretext he desired for attacking his late brother and companion in arms, while engaged in the religious warfare to which they had both been sworn. The plans of Philip were disconcerted by this refusal.

The King of France, whose conduct on this occasion neither merits the epithet of Most Christian, bestowed on the sovereigns of his race, nor that of August, given to distinguish him individually, sought a new and discreditable channel through which to strike at his enemy. He formed a close alliance with John, brother of Richard, and youngest son of Henry II. This prince, one of the worst men who afflicted these evil times, was as easily induced to make efforts to usurp the territories of a generous brother, as he had been formerly found ready to rebel against his indulgent father, and he

seems readily to have agreed, that Philip should be at liberty to work his pleasure upon Richard's dominions in France, provided he was admitted to his share of the spoil.

In the meantime, while his European dominions were thus exposed to an ungrateful brother and a faithless ally, Richard was rivalling in the Holy Land the imaginary actions of the champions of romance. He conquered Cesarea and Jaffa; he drove Saladin before him for eleven days of continued battle. He defied armies with a handful of men, and challenged to combat, in his own person, an extended line of thousands, not one of whom dared quit their ranks to encounter him. He even came within sight of Jerusalem, but declined to look upon the sepulchre, which he found himself not strong enough to gain by battle. In the midst of these wonders, Richard was recalled by the news of the intrigues of John and Philip. He embarked with precipitation, having patched up a hasty peace with Saladin, and

leaving a name in the East, with which, long after, the Saracens were wont to upbraid a starting horse, demanding if he thought the bush was King Richard, that he sprang aside from it!

Richard's embarkation was the beginning of a series of calamities, which gave the King of France time to arrange his perfidious plans. The King of England was shipwrecked on the coast of Dalmatia, and was betrayed into the hands of that very Duke of Austria, whom he had affronted, by displacing his standard at Acre. Leopold meanly seized the opportunity of vengeance which chance afforded him, and threw the unhappy prince into prison, charging him with many crimes alleged to have been committed in Palestine. His place of confinement was for some time kept concealed, and the story how it was discovered, though well known, is worthy of mention.

It was no part of Richard's character to be, like his rival Philip, a hater of music or minstrelsy. On the contrary, he was an ad-

mirer of what was, at that time, called the *Gay Science*, and often practised the arts of song and music himself. Blondel de Nesle, a favourite minstrel, who had attended his person, devoted himself to discover the place of his confinement. He wandered in vain, from castle to palace, till he learned that a strong, and almost inaccessible fortress, upon the Danube, was watched with peculiar strictness, as containing some state prisoner of distinction. The minstrel took his harp, and approaching as near the castle as he durst, came so nigh the walls as to hear the melancholy captive soothing his imprisonment with music. Blondel touched his harp; the prisoner heard and was silent: upon this the minstrel played the first part of a tune, or lay, known to the captive, who instantly played the second part; and thus the faithful servant obtained the certainty that the inmate of the castle was no other than his royal master. It is uncertain if Blondel carried news of Richard's imprisonment to the emperor, but such news reached him. The emperor

compelled the Duke of Austria to surrender his person, and being a rough, ungenerous man, he seems only to have considered how much money he could extort by having in his power one of the richest, as well as most powerful sovereigns in Christendom, the only cause of whose imprisonment was the misfortune that threw him on the coast. Philip, hearing of Richard's captivity in Germany, offered, it is said, a sum of money, provided the emperor would deliver Cœur de Lion into his hands. Perhaps the emperor thought it would be too detrimental to his reputation, were he to make such a transference; but although he refused so dishonourable a treaty, he failed not, for some time, to lend a favourable ear to many specious reasons urged by Philip for detaining his late ally in close confinement.

Meantime, the selfish King of France formed a fresh contract with Prince John, by which the unnatural brother was to do all in his power to assert a claim to the crown of England, while Richard's French territories

in Normandy and elsewhere, were to fall to Philip's share; and, that no form might be awanting, the French king dispatched a herald to denounce war against Richard, then a close prisoner. The forms of public faith are seldom observed with such rigid technicality, as when they are used as a cloak to carry into execution what is, in fact, flagrant injustice. Accordingly, Philip, after using this unnecessary and absurd form of defiance against a defenceless captive, assaulted, upon various pretexts, the frontiers of Normandy, and made conquests there, bestowing towns on his ally, John, or retaining them to himself, at his pleasure; and explaining to such of his chivalry or allies as entertained, or affected, a disinclination to such unjust procedure, that he did not attack Richard in breach of his oath, but in consequence of old causes of quarrel about his sister's portion. While Philip was preparing for his imperial title of Augustus, by a system of spoliation resembling that of a Roman emperor, he received sudden intelligence, that the large ransom

which the emperor's avarice had set on the freedom of Richard, had been at length defrayed by the loyalty of his subjects. He communicated the alarming news to his associate, John, in the expressive phrase, "Have a care of yourself—the devil is loose!"

Whatever alarm these words might imply, Philip knew that no pause in his ambitious project would secure him from Richard's resentment, now that the captive lion had obtained his liberty. He therefore did not even attempt to disguise his enmity; he openly invaded Normandy, and besieged Verneuil. But the scene began to change, on the part of his unnatural ally.

Richard's unexpected arrival in England had entirely destroyed the treacherous schemes of the faithless John. That wicked prince saw now no means of security, except by taking some decisive step, which would demonstrate that he had cast off King Philip's favour, and thrown himself entirely upon his brother's clemency. The action by which he proposed to make these intentions manifest,

was atrociously characteristic. He invited to the castle of Evreux, in which Philip had invested him, those Norman chiefs and officers most favourable to the schemes of the French king, and who had doubtless communicated with John himself, on the plans of plundering Richard, which he had nourished before his brother's return. Having welcomed these men hospitably, and feasted them royally, he surprised, seized upon, and murdered his guests, when unsuspicious of danger, and incapable of resistance. He cut off their heads to the number of three hundred, and arranged them upon pikes around the castle, in the fashion of a bloody garland. By this faithless and cruel action, John meant to break all terms with Philip, his late abettor in his rebellion against his brother; but that king avenged this double treachery as the action deserved. He made a hasty march to Evreux, surprised John's English garrison, and put them to the sword, laying in ashes the town itself, as the scene of such treachery. Richard advanced in turn,

and obtained some advantages, in which he took the whole chancery of the French king. But Richard was too much weakened by the rebellion of his vassals, and the impoverishment of his realm, to follow the war so promptly as his nature would have dictated. Truces, therefore, followed each other, which were as rapidly broken as they were formed, until at length both princes were brought, by the legate of the Pope, to entertain thoughts of a solid and lasting peace. But, ere it was yet concluded, a paltry enterprise cost
A.D. 1199. Richard Cœur de Lion that life which he had risked in so many affairs of so much greater consequence. One of his vassals had found a treasure concealed in the earth upon his fief. Richard demanded possession of it, such discoveries being considered a part of the superior's interest in the benefice. It was refused, and the king flew to besiege the vassal's castle, an inconsiderable place. He soon reduced it to extremity; but an archer took aim from the walls with a cross-bow, and the bolt mortally wounded Cœur de Lion. The

castle was surrendered ere the king had died of his wound. Richard commanded the unlucky marksman to be brought before him, and demanded, why he had sought his life so earnestly? "You slew," replied the archer, whose name was Bertram de Gurdun, "my father, and my brother, and you were seeking my own life; had I not reason to prevent you, if I could, by taking yours?" The dying king acknowledged that he had reason for his conduct, and, forgiving his offence against his person, generously commanded him to be dismissed unharmed. But Richard was dying while he gave the command, and the injunctions of dying sovereigns are not always respected. The captain of a band of Richard's mercenaries put De Gurdun to death, by flaying him alive, as the most cruel mode of revenging their monarch's death which the ingenuity of these rude soldiers could devise.

Cœur de Lion was succeeded in his throne by the tyrant John. There are not many portraits in history which display fewer re-

deeming qualities. He was a bad father, a bad brother, a bad monarch, and a bad man; yet he was preferred to the succession, notwithstanding the existence of Arthur Duke of Bretagne, who was son to the deceased Geoffrey, the immediate younger brother of Richard, and the senior to John. Arthur's claim of inheriting a succession which came by his father's elder brother, would be now perfectly understood as preferable to that of his uncle; but, in the days of King John, the right of a brother was often preferred to that of a nephew, the son of an elder brother, from some idea then entertained, that, in the former case, the brother was one step nearer in blood to the deceased person. But, notwithstanding John's becoming King of England, and Duke of Normandy, great discontent prevailed in his French dominions, as in Anjou, Maine, and other provinces, where the nobles and knights would have greatly preferred the sway of the young Prince Arthur, to that of his uncle.

Philip King of France, whose career of

ambition had been checked by the return, and formidable opposition, of Richard Cœur de Lion, foresaw that the moment was arrived when he might safely, and with the consent of the vassals themselves, resume his labours to reunite, under the immediate sovereignty of the crown of France, the great fiefs of Normandy granted to Rollo, and the other provinces of which the late Henry II. of England had, by his marriage with Eleanor, the repudiated wife of Philip le Jeune, and other transactions, obtained possession. The character and conduct of John was so unpopular, that there was little doubt that the barons and vassals of the English provinces lying in France, who might have thought it disgraceful to desert the standard of Richard, especially during his imprisonment, would now eagerly transfer their allegiance to their lord paramount, Philip, in preference to the voluptuous tyrant who succeeded Cœur de Lion on the throne of England. But although this was a crisis so favourable and so important for extending the authority of France,

Philip was, by some domestic embarrassments, prevented for a time from reaping the harvest which had ripened before him. The circumstances illustrate the manners of the age, and are worthy of your attention.

Philip, like many other men, otherwise of high qualities, was greatly attached to women, and sometimes sacrificed his policy to his pleasures. He lost his first wife in childbed, of twins, and, as we have already hinted, took for his second wife, the Princess Ingerberge of Denmark, with the purpose of obtaining, as part of her fortune, the cession of the pretensions of the descendants of Canute to the throne of England, which might give him a pretence to disturb the heirs of William the Conqueror, now in possession of that kingdom. His marriage took place; but, disappointed at not succeeding in this intended purpose, or displeased with his new bride's person, and determined to annul the marriage, Philip sent the Danish princess to a convent before she had resided two days in his palace. The king's aversion to the un-

fortunate Ingerberge was so great, that the simplicity of the times supposed that a sense of dislike so sudden and strong, could only arise from the effect of magic,—as if any magic could operate more powerfully than the caprices of a self-willed despot. With the same unjust fickleness, Philip employed some of the more subservient prelates about his court, to discover cause for a divorce, which was easily found in the usual pretext of too close alliance in blood between the wedded parties. A pedigree was drawn up to favour the plea, in consequence of which, a complaisant council of French bishops passed a sentence of divorce between Philip and Ingerberge, within three years after their separation.

The king then proceeded to marry Agnes de Merania, daughter to the Duke of Dalmatia. The King of Denmark remonstrated at Rome, where his complaints found favourable hearing, against the injury and insult offered to his unoffending daughter. The legate of the Pope, having taken cogni- A.D. 1172.

sance of this important case, declared formally that the marriage with Ingerberge remained binding, and admonished the king to put away her rival, Agnes, as one with whom he could have no legal tie. As Philip remained obstinate and impenitent, the Pope proceeded to lay his kingdom under an interdict, which, while it lasted, prohibited the performance of divine service of every kind, the administration of the sacraments, the reading the services for the dead, or for marriage or baptism, occasioning thereby an inexpressible confusion in the country where these divine rites were suspended, and all civil affairs, of course, interrupted. Philip, enraged at the perseverance of the Pope, revenged himself on the clergy. He seized on their temporal effects, imprisoned the canons of the cathedrals, and raised heavy taxes on all classes, by which he maintained such large bodies of mercenary soldiers, as made resistance impossible on the part of his vassals. At length, finding it difficult to remain in this state of vio-

lence, Philip made a compromise with the Pope, agreeing that he would become amenable to the obedience of the church, providing his holiness would condescend once more to examine the question of the divorce and marriage. A council was accordingly held at Soissons, for the re-examination of an affair that was extremely simple. Fifteen days were spent by churchmen and canonists in these subtle questions, which rather perplex than enlighten justice, when, suddenly, a young and unknown speaker took the side of the divorced queen, with such persuasive force of truth, that the churchmen conceived they heard themselves addressed by the voice of an angel. The king himself perceived his cause was indefensible, and resolved to take back the Danish princess, as if of his own accord, ere yet he should be compelled to do so by the order of the council. He therefore told the legate abruptly that he would settle the affair with his wives in his own way. He did so accordingly, with very little ceremony, instantly riding to the con-

vent where the discarded Ingerberge resided, taking her up behind him on the same steed, and proceeding with her in that manner to Paris, where he publicly acknowledged her for his lawful wife. Ingerberge, with the same patient obedience which distinguished her while in the cloister, returned to the world, and lived and died blameless, if not beloved. The fate of Agnes de Merania was more melancholy; she died of a broken heart at feeling herself reduced from the rank of a royal matron to that of a concubine.

By an arrangement so simply produced, Philip gained the advantage of being restored from the condition of an interdicted and excommunicated prince, to that of a true and lawful sovereign, who might justly receive the complaints of the church, as well as of inferior persons, against his vassal John, for certain enormities which were not very distant in character from those for which Philip himself had been so lately laid under an interdict.

John, whose only use of power was to for-

ward his own pleasures, had, during a progress in Guienne, become captivated with the charms of Isabel, the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Angouleme. This young beauty was betrothed to Hugh le Brun, Earl de la Marche, and had been delivered up to her betrothed husband. But John, who was totally unaccustomed to bridle his passions, was induced to banish a wife with whom he had enjoyed ten years of undisturbed union, and, by tempting the ambition of Aymar, Count of Angouleme, easily bribed him to accept a king for a son-in-law, instead of a simple count. This rash and hasty action incurred much censure. The Earl de la Marche, thus deprived of his intended and betrothed bride, and bent on revenge for so gross an injury, broke out, with his brother the Earl of Eu, and other confederates in Guienne, into open rebellion. John, alarmed for the consequences—for he was well aware of his own unpopularity—summoned together his English vassals, in order to put an end to the insurrection ere it spread wider. But

A.D. 1200.

although the English barons had seldom hesitated to follow their kings to France, as a country where they were wont to acquire wealth and warlike fame, it was no part of their feudal obligation to serve the king beyond the limits of Britain, unless with their own free consent. On this occasion, disliking the cause or the prince, the great English barons obeyed John's summons but slowly. John was attended, therefore, by too small an army to secure the implicit submission of his refractory nobles; and while he carried on a languid war against the disaffected, the insurrection gained new and formidable supporters.

Arthur, son of Geoffrey, and nephew of John, began now to complain, that out of his uncle Richard's succession he had been only suffered to retain the dukedom of Bretagne; which was the more unjust, as Richard, when he went to the Holy Land, had designed Geoffrey his father, in whose right Arthur stood, as heir of all his French dominions. Incensed at this grievance, the

young duke, who was scarcely sixteen years of age, entertained a secret correspondence with the discontented lords of Guienne; and the whole conspiracy became manifest, when Philip, claiming, as liege lord, the right of deciding between John and his dissatisfied vassals, declared himself the protector of the insurgents of Guienne, and the assertor of the claims of Arthur. Both nations took arms, and on each side an ambitious and violent-tempered woman urged the quarrel to extremity. Constance, the mother of Arthur, and widow of his deceased father Geoffrey, incited her son to war against his uncle John by every argument in her power; and, on the other hand, the dowager Queen Eleanor, that celebrated heiress, who transferred Aquitaine from Philip le Jeune to Henry II., was still alive, and violent in behalf of King John, whom she loved better than her other sons, because he resembled her more in disposition than any of his brothers. These two haughty and high-tempered ladies had personal animosities against each other, and inflamed the

war by female taunts and female resentments. Our great dramatic poet Shakspeare has made their wrangling immortal, by intermixing it with the plot of his celebrated play of King John.

A.D. 1202. In the year 1202 hostilities commenced. Young Arthur took the field in the west of France with two hundred knights, and gained some successes, but experienced on the following occasion, so far as the young prince was concerned, a woful and irrecoverable reverse. Having, on his march through Poitou, received information that the dowager Queen Eleanor, his own and his mother's personal enemy, was residing in the adjacent castle of Mirabel, Arthur flew to invest it, and make sure of her as a prisoner. The defence was vigorous, but at length the besiegers possessed themselves of the base court, and were wellnigh carrying the great tower, or keep, of the castle. The arrival of King John changed the scene; he was at no great distance with an army more numerous than that of his nephew, consisting chiefly

of mercenaries. Arthur, with his little band, marched to meet their unexpected foe, but was completely routed, and driven back to the castle of Mirabel, where they were all either slain or made prisoners. Arthur himself, the Comte de la Marche, and two hundred knights, were among the latter; and if John could have used a decisive victory with humanity and moderation, he might have preserved his French dominions, and averted a long and almost uninterrupted chain of well-deserved misfortunes. But neither humanity nor moderation were a part of his character; and it may be remarked, that there is no surer road to adversity than misused prosperity.

The fate of the prisoners taken in this skirmish of Mirabel, was atrociously cruel. That of Arthur was never exactly known; but all authors agree that he was murdered at Rouen by his jealous uncle John—some allege, in his presence, and others affirm, with his own hand. Of the young prince's allies and friends, twenty-five of the noblest

and bravest were starved to death in Corfe Castle.

The minds of all men revolted against the author of this disgraceful abuse of victory. The barons of Bretagne accused John at the footstool of Philip, their liege lord, of the crime of murdering their duke, and his own nephew, in the person of the unhappy Arthur. As the King of England did not appear to answer to their charge, he was pronounced guilty of felony and treason, and all his dominions in Normandy were declared forfeited to his liege lord the King of France. Thus was the crisis arrived which Philip had long waited for. Over the extensive territories held for so many years by wise, warlike, and powerful princes, there was now placed a person, who, by tyranny and inhumanity, was sure to incur a just doom of forfeiture, and, by cowardice and indolence, was incapable of saving himself from the consequences, by a resolute defence. Accordingly, when Philip, at the head of his army, began to enforce the doom of for-

feiture, or, in plain language, to conquer Normandy for his own, it was astonishing how rapidly the structure of feudal power, which had been raised by the sagacity of William the Conqueror, and his son and great-grandson, the first and second Henrys, and latterly defended by the iron arm of Richard Cœur de Lion, dissolved, when under the sway of the selfish, indolent, and irresolute John. Joined by the numerous barons who were disaffected to King John, Philip marched through Normandy, reducing the strongholds at pleasure, and subjecting the country to his allegiance. John never even attempted to meet his enemies in the field, but remained in daily riot and revelry at Rouen, struck, as it were, with a judicial infatuation, which so much affected his courage and activity, that, about the end of the year, finding the storm of war approach so near as to disturb his slumbers, he fairly fled to England, and left the dukedom of Normandy to its fate. This was not long protracted; for, without much exertion,

and with the good-will of the countries, whose inhabitants had not forgotten they were by nature part of the kingdom of France, Normandy, with Anjou, Poitou, and Maine, excepting a few places which remained faithful to the English king, became again annexed to the crown of France. Rouen itself, the capital of Normandy, being abandoned to its own resources, was forced to surrender, and once more became the property of the French kings, three hundred years after it had been conquered by Rollo, the Norman.

The infatuated John threw the blame of losing so many fair possessions upon the desertion of the English barons, who would not follow him to France for the purpose of defending his Norman dominions. He more than once summoned his vassals, as if with the fixed purpose of invading the territories he had lost; but the expedition was always deferred, under pretence that the musters were not complete, until it became the conviction of every one, that the armaments

were only intended to afford a pretext for levying fines on the vassals who neglected the royal summons. A single feeble attempt to cross the seas with an army, only served to show the imbecility of the English leader; and retiring before Philip, and avoiding the combat which he offered, the degenerate John did but prove his personal cowardice, and ignorance as a commander. Thus, almost without opposition, did Philip unite, under the French empire, those provinces so long separated from the kingdom to which they belonged as a natural part. The event was the most useful, as well as most brilliant, of his reign, and must be reckoned the principal cause for bestowing upon Philip the flattering name of Augustus.

The extreme indolence and imbecility of John encouraged the King of France, who, through all his reign, evinced a high cast of ambition and policy, to extend his views even beyond the limits of the French dominions of the English prince; and pushing his oppor-

tunity against one so inactive and impolitic, he resolved to attempt achieving a second conquest of England, while its crown was placed on so unworthy a head. The success of William the Conqueror, under circumstances much less favourable, was doubtless called to mind, as an encouraging example. Some apology, or show of justice, was indeed wanting for such an invasion; for England was no dependency of France, like Normandy or Anjou, nor had King Philip a right to declare that realm forfeited as a fief of his crown, whatever may have been the delinquencies of its tyrannical sovereign. But it was John's ill-luck, or misconduct, so to manage his affairs, as to afford, not Philip alone, but any Christian prince in Europe, as full right to make war upon and dispossess him of his English dominions, as the church of Rome, which then claimed the right of placing and dethroning monarchs, was competent to confer. The rash monarch of England laid himself open to this, by a dispute with the Pope, at any time a formidable

opponent, but an irresistible one to a sovereign so universally detested as John.

This dispute, so remarkable in its consequences, arose thus:

In 1205, the right of electing an Archbishop of Canterbury was disputed between the monks of the cathedral, who made choice of their own sub-prior, Reginald, and the King of England, with the prelates of the province, who made choice of the Bishop of Norwich. Both sides appealed to the Pope, who immediately began to take the dispute under his own management, with the purpose of so conducting the contest, as to augment the unlimited power which he claimed to exercise over Christendom. The Pontiff decided, in the first place, that the right of electing the archbishop lay exclusively in the monks. He next declared both elections to be vacant, and proceeding to fill the important situation with a creature of his own, commanded the monks of Canterbury, who had come to Rome to solicit the disputed election, to make a new choice for the office, A.D. 1205.

indicating Stephen Langton as the candidate whom they were to prefer. The monks pleaded the irregularity of such an election, and alleged vows which rendered it unlawful for them to hold such a course. The Pope answered their objections by his plenary power. He dispensed with the irregularity by his papal authority, annulled the obligations of the oaths of the monks, and compelled them, under penalty of the highest censure of the church, to proceed as he enjoined them. John, with a spirit which he only showed when resistance was remote, remonstrated with Pope Innocent on such an irregular attempt to fix a primate on England. The Pope replied with equal warmth, calling on the king to submit to his authority, before whom every knee must bow. Finally, as King John continued refractory, the Pontiff proceeded to lay all his dominions under an interdict, of which the nature has been already explained to you. John endeavoured to avenge himself upon such of the clergy as were within his reach; but although im-

prisoned, fined, and even personally punished, the zeal of the churchmen for the cause of the Pope, made them dare the fate of martyrs or of confessors.

In 1209, when the interdict had continued two years, the Pope proceeded to pronounce sentence of excommunication against John personally, by which he was, so far as the curses of Rome could have effect, thrown out of the pale of the Christian church, his subjects released from their allegiance to him, and his kingdom delivered up to any one who should carry the doom of the Pontiff into execution. More especially, King Philip of France had the express charge of executing the sentence of deposition against his neighbour of England, and in reward of his expected exertions, was declared king of that country in his stead. A.D. 1209.

Thus placed in the very position which he so earnestly desired to assume, by taking on himself the office of the Pope's champion, the politic Philip sacrificed to his ambitious views upon England the common interest of

princes, and assented to the dangerous doctrine, that the crowns of reigning sovereigns were held at the pleasure of the Roman pontiff. He assembled a large army near Boulogne, where he had provided no less than seventeen hundred vessels to transport them to England. But although dislike to the tyranny of John rendered many of his barons indifferent to his fate, and although the minds of others were affected with superstitious dread of the Pope's anathema, there were yet many Englishmen resolved to withstand the French invasion. The alarm that the kingdom was in danger from foreigners, drew together an immense array, from which it was easy for King John to select sixty thousand well-armed and well-appointed troops, to oppose the French king.

Such were the preparations made to defend England from invasion, when John, by a secret treaty with Pandulph, the legate of the Pope, endeavoured to avert the danger of the struggle. In this he succeeded—but it was only by an act of submission, the most

ignominious of which the world had yet seen an example. By this agreement, the King of England made the most unreserved submission to the Pope concerning Stephen Langton's reception as Archbishop of Canterbury, which was the original dispute, professed penitence for his former refractory conduct, and, in evidence of his sincerity, resigned into the hands of the legate, as representing his holiness, his kingdoms of England and Ireland, engaging to hold them thereafter, in name of vassal to the Pope, for the tribute of one thousand merks yearly.

The Pope was highly gratified with an accommodation which had taken a turn so favourable to the extension of the influence, as well as the wealth, of the church, and he issued his mandates in a tone of uncommon arrogance, commanding Philip to forbear any enterprise against John of England, who now had, though formerly a refractory son of the church, reconciled himself with the Pope, was become the vassal of the Holy See, a submissive, amiable, and benign prince, pe-

culiarly entitled to the Pontiff's protection against all injuries. Philip remonstrated at the attempt to render him thus the passive tool of Rome, obliged as such to assume and lay aside his arms at her bidding. He thought it best, however, to comply, as he learned that his increasing power, augmented as it was with the spoils of John's French territories, was on the eve of exciting a confederacy against him among the crown vassals of France. For this reason, he turned the army designed for the invasion of England against Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, whose accession to such a league he had reason to apprehend.

The great army of France, with the king at its head, advanced into Flanders accordingly, taking some of the earl's towns, and menacing the subjugation of his earldom. King John, on the intreaty of Earl Ferrand, sent to his assistance a great fleet, which he had got in readiness while the alarm of the French invasion of England impended, under the command of a natural son of Richard Cœur de Lion, called Longsword, Earl of

Salisbury. The English had already acquired that superiority at sea, which has been long one of their marked national characteristics. They defeated the French navy, though more numerous than their own, destroying one hundred vessels, taking one hundred more, and dispersing the rest of the fleet. Philip, who with his nobles had lost much valuable property on this occasion, was so much discouraged by an unexpected blow from a quarter which he had been little accustomed to fear, that he desisted from his attempts against Ferrand, and retired into his own dominions.

The alarm which was excited by King Philip's increasing power and extensive ambition, was far from subsiding on his retreat. On the contrary, the vassals of the crown of France, who had been engaged with other continental princes in a confederacy against the crown, were bent upon taking advantage of the gleam of success occasioned by the discomfiture, and to establish, in the moment of victory, some counterbalance against the

predominant authority of Philip. The confederacy assumed a consistent and alarming appearance, and well deserved the King of France's peculiar attention, as it was like to require the whole strength of his kingdom to resist the combined assault of so many enemies. The Emperor Otho lent his active co-operation to the confederates the more readily, as being the nephew, by the mother's side, of King John, whose French dominions Philip had confiscated with so little ceremony or scruple. The Earls of Flanders, Boulogne, Toulouse, and Auvergne, also joined the enemies of Philip, and visited England in 1214, to arrange the plan of the ensuing campaign.

It was agreed on this occasion, that France should be invaded on two sides, so as to find full employment for the forces and skill of her monarch. It was farther determined, that the main attempt should be made by the Emperor Otho and the warlike Earls of Boulogne and Flanders, aided by an auxiliary body of English troops, under command of the celebrated

Longsword, Earl of Salisbury. They were destined to attack the eastern frontiers of France, with a powerful army. John himself, according to the same plan, was to cross the sea to Rochelle, where he was sure to be joined by several friends of the English interest, as well as by the Earls of Auvergne and Toulouse. Such were the preparations; the object proposed was the dismemberment of the French territories, which were to be divided among the princes of this confederacy. The allies, in accordance with the superstition of the times, consulted soothsayers on the issue of the war, and received for answer, "that the King of France should be overthrown, and trampled on by the horses' feet, and should not receive funeral rites; and that Count Ferrand of Flanders should enter Paris in great pomp after the engagement." The allies received as propitious an oracle, which afterwards turned out to be of a different and ambiguous character: they accordingly advanced at the head of a numerous army, amounting, it is said, to one hundred

and fifty thousand men. They assembled at Peronne, in Flanders, and moved south-westwards into France.

The army of Philip was not nearly so numerous, but was composed of the flower of the French chivalry, with the great princes of the blood royal, and such of the vassals of the crown as were not in the confederacy. The monarch also enjoyed the advantage of the bravery and experience of a valiant knight hospitaller, called Guerin, who acted as quarter-master-general. Philip, having determined to prevent the wasting of his own country by ravaging that of the enemy, directed his course towards Hainault with that purpose. But in the course of their march, the French discovered the numerous squadrons of the emperor, on the opposite side of the Meuse, near Bouvines. The river was crossed by a wooden bridge. The French noblesse on the one side, and the German on the other, rushed emulously to seize the passage. But it was occupied by the former; and the French infantry, prin-

cipally the militia of the towns, passed over under the Oriflamme, or banner of Saint Dennis, and formed on the western side of the river. The king had stretched himself to repose under an ash-tree, when he was roused by the horsemen who came to apprize him that the battle had commenced. Philip arose with a cheerful countenance, and, stepping into a church which was near, paid the brief devotions of a soldier. He then advanced to the front of his troops, and recollecting that there were many vassals in his own army who were likely to be secretly affected by the reports generally, and not unjustly, spread abroad concerning his own interested and ambitious disposition, he caused his crown to be placed on a portable altar, arranged in front of his line of battle. "My friends," he said, "it is for the crown of France you fight, and not for him who has of late worn it. If you can rescue it from these men, who are combined to degrade and destroy it, the soldier who shall bear him best in its defence, is, for my part, welcome to wear it as his own."

This well-conceived speech was answered with shouts of "Long live King Philip! the crown can befit no brow so well as his own." The French army continued to defile across the bridge to support their van, which had already passed over. The army of the allies continued to manœuvre and extend their wings, for the purpose of surrounding Philip's inferior numbers. But by this manœuvre they lost the opportunity of charging the French troops, when only a part of their army had passed over, and in taking up their new ground, they exposed their faces to the sun, —a great disadvantage, which they felt severely during the whole action.

The battle began with incredible fury, and proved one of the most obstinate, as it was certainly one of the most important, actions of those warlike times.

The command of the right wing of the allies was intrusted to the Earl of Flanders, the left to the Count of Boulogne, the emperor having his own place in the centre, under a banner displayed on a species of car-

riage, on which ensign was represented the imperial eagle holding a dragon in his talons. On the side of France, the king himself, surrounded by the princes of the blood, heading the bravest of the young knights and nobles, and attended by the most distinguished of the prelates and clergy, commanded the centre. The Duke of Burgundy commanded the right wing, the Comte de St Paul the left, and Guerin, the experienced knight hospitaller, arrayed the army, being, although a bishop elect, the most skilful leader in the field. The Comte de St Paul, who had been unjustly suspected of intercourse with the enemy, said to Guerin, when the battle commenced, "Now, you shall see what manner of traitor I am!"

At the onset, the allies had some advantage; for a body of French light horse, which commenced the attack, were unable to withstand the weight and strength of the huge men and horses of the Flemish and German cavalry, to whom they were opposed. One wing of the French army was disarranged in

consequence of this check, as well as by the impetuosity of an attack commanded by Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, who was one of the best warriors on the side of the allies. The emperor assailed, with incredible fury and superior forces, the centre, in which Philip and his nobles were stationed. Philip made good the promise which he had given to his soldiers, and fought as desperately as any man in the field. He was at length borne out of his saddle, and wounded in the throat. Gulon de Montigni in vain waved the royal banner, to intimate the disaster that had taken place, and Philip's wars would have ended on the spot, but for the devoted loyalty of some knights, who threw themselves betwixt him and the prevailing Germans. But, almost at the same moment, the Earl of Flanders, who had been at first victorious, was, after great resistance, made prisoner, and his Flemish forces defeated, giving an opportunity for a large body of French cavalry to press closely to the centre, where their assistance was so much required. A band of the nobles who

thus came to Philip's rescue, determined to attack the person of the emperor, disregarding meaner objects. They broke through his guard, overturned the chariot which bore his banner, and seized it. They then rushed on Otho's person. Peter de Mauvoisin seized his bridle, William des Barres grasped him round the body, and strove to pull him from his horse, Gerard de Trie attempted to strike him through with his sword, and the good corslet protecting the emperor from the blow, the Frenchman again struck with the edge of the sword, and killed Otho's horse. Yet a furious charge of some German men-at-arms relieved their emperor, who was remounted on a swift horse, and left the conflict in despair. "Let him go," said King Philip, who witnessed his enemy's flight, "you will see no more of him to-day than his back!"

While the Earl of Flanders and the emperor were thus defeated, the Comte de Boulogne displayed the greatest courage, by the mode in which he supported his division of

the allies. He had established a strong reserve of foot in a triangular form, behind which, as covered by a fortress, he drew up his men-at-arms, and whence he sallied repeatedly with inexpressible fury. At length, he was pursued into this retreat by the French men-at-arms, who skirmished with him for some time, unable to beat down or dispatch him, as horse and man were covered with impenetrable armour, like the invulnerable champions of romance. At last, Pierre des Tourelles, a knight who chanced himself to be dismounted, raised the armour which covered the earl's horse with his hand, and stabbed the good charger. The Earl of Boulogne thus dismounted was added to the captives, who amounted to five earls of the highest name and power, twenty-five seigneurs, or nobles, bearing banners, and nearly as many men of inferior rank as there were soldiers in the conquering army. Philip, considering his disparity of numbers, and satisfied with so complete a victory, would not permit his troops to follow the enemy far.

Such was the celebrated battle of Bouvines, on the details of which the French historians dwell with national pride. It lasted from noon till five in the evening. The scruples of two ecclesiastics, which prohibited them from shedding blood, were on this occasion differently expressed, or rather evaded. Guerin the hospitaller, who was also bishop elect of Senlis, lent Philip the assistance of his military experience in drawing up his army, but would not engage personally in the action. Another prelate, Philip, Bishop of Beauvais, thought he sufficiently eluded the canon which prohibited churchmen from shedding blood, by fighting like the chaplain of the Cid, who used an iron mace instead of a sword. With this, the scrupulous prelate had the honour to strike down and make prisoner the celebrated Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, who commanded such English troops as were in the battle. A.D. 1214.

After the victory, Philip caused the principal captives to be conducted through Paris

in a sort of triumph, and in this procession Renaud, Count of Boulogne, and Ferrand, Count of Flanders, were distinguished from the rest by being loaded with irons. The former being brought before Philip, the king upbraided him with his excommunication, (forgetting how lately he himself had been under the censure of the church, for the affair of his divorce.) He also charged him with personal ingratitude, and concluded by sending the captive earl to the castle of Peronne, where he was lodged in a dungeon, and his motions limited by a heavy chain, attached to a block of iron, so weighty that two men could not lift it. Here the unfortunate earl remained a close captive, until he heard that his ally Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, had been restored to freedom, (though under severe conditions,) at the supplication of his wife. On finding that similar clemency was not extended to him, the Count of Boulogne became desperate, and ended his misfortunes by depriving himself of existence.

The second part of the plan of the allies,

which was to have depended on the exertions of King John of England, proved as inefficient as all others which had been calculated upon the fortune and conduct of that unlucky prince. John, no doubt, carried over an English army to Rochelle, and received the homage of many barons of Poitou and Normandy, who had acceded to the league against Philip. He took Angers, the capital of Anjou, his family fief, but, except wasting and spoiling the country, he did nothing further on his side which could materially favour the great attempt of the confederates.

Philip having gained the battle of Bouvines, which might be said to secure the fate of the crown of France, by placing in his power the heads of so formidable a conspiracy, marched instantly into Poitou against John, yet showed no inclination to carry the war to extremity at present; but, on receiving a present of sixty thousand pounds sterling, he granted the King of England a truce for the space of five years. For this mode-

ration, Philip has been censured by French writers, who are of opinion he should have continued the war, until he had subdued Rochelle and the few scattered French towns and forts which still acknowledged the dominion of England.

But Philip, who was a prince of far-sighted political views, was aware that, in the battle of Bouvines, he had been obliged to rely too implicitly upon the assistance of his feudal vassals, and might think it imprudent to make them, at this moment, more sensible of their own importance, by prosecuting new wars against John, in which their assistance would have been indispensable. A large sum of money being immediately received, he may be supposed to have calculated to have a sufficient number of mercenary forces, by help of which, at some convenient period, the wreck of John's French dominions might be gained, without the assistance of his feudal militia, and of troops which never could be properly said to be under his own personal command.

During this time, a remarkable series of transactions took place in France, the review of which I have reserved to this place, that I might not confuse them in your memory with those which I have been thus recounting.

The Popes, bent at once on increasing their finances, and extending their power, had found the utmost advantage in the practice of preaching the crusade, as the indispensable duty of all Christians, while, at the same time, they found it very convenient to accept of large sums of money from such princes, nobles, and individuals, as found it more convenient to purchase the privilege of remaining to look after their own affairs, than to assume the cross for distant enterprises. These holy expeditions were originally confined to the recovery of Palestine. But, since their effects were found in every respect so profitable to the church, it occurred to the Popes that there might be great policy in extending the principles of the holy crusade not only to the extirpation of infidelity and heathenism, in foreign parts, but to that of he-

resy at home. Accordingly, as head of the Christian church, the Pontiffs assumed the privilege of commanding all Christian people, under the threat of spiritual censures against those that should disobey, and with a corresponding remuneration to such as rendered spiritual obedience, to rise up in arms, and do execution on such people, or sects, as it had been the pleasure of the church to lay under the ban of excommunication for heretical opinions.

It was in the exercise of a privilege so frightful, by which the Popes raised armies wherever they pleased, and employed them as they chose, that the south-west of France was subjected to a horrible war. A numerous party of dissenters from the faith of Rome, men professing, in most respects, those doctrines which are now avowed by the Protestant churches, had gradually extended itself through the south of France, and were particularly numerous in the dominions of Raymond, Earl of Toulouse. The ecclesiastical writers of the period accuse these unfortunate

sectaries of professing abominable and infamous license, which they are alleged to have practised even in their public worship; but there is little reason to doubt that this was mere calumny, and that the Albigeois, or Albigenses, as they were termed, were a set of obscure, but sensible men, whose minds could not be reconciled to the extravagant tenets of the Roman Church. They did not exactly agree in doctrine amongst themselves, and probably numbered among them the obscure descendants of the Paulicians, and other ancient Gothic churches, who had never embraced the faith of Rome, or yielded to its extravagant pretensions of temporal authority. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, within whose dominions these poor dissenters found refuge, was a prince of a comprehensive understanding, and, though himself professing no peculiarity of faith, was, nevertheless, willing to grant liberty of conscience to all who lived under his sway, and was well aware what temporal advantages might be

derived from a government so professing complete toleration.

Against these unfortunate Albigenses, and their protector Raymond, Pope Innocent III., at the instigation of Saint Dominic, and other furious inquisitors of the monastic orders, proclaimed a crusade, enjoining those persons who should embrace so pious a labour, to convert, by the sword, those who should fail to lend an ear to the preaching of the monks. A numerous host, great part of which was levied among the military adventurers and hired mercenaries of the age, and whose character for license and cruelty was scarcely to be matched, was assembled, under the name of the Army of the Church. They were placed under the command of Simon de Monfort, a brave, but cruel leader, and a bigot to the faith of Rome. Under his command these crusaders indulged an indiscriminate thirst for slaughter and plunder amid the peaceful Albigenses, without accurately distinguishing the heretic from the orthodox, under the pretext that they were

extirpating evil and erroneous opinions, and thereby rendering acceptable service to God and the Christian Church.

Philip of France gave way to proceedings which he dared not oppose. He did not himself embrace the crusade against the Albigenses; but his son, Prince Louis, came under the obligation, without his father's knowledge, and against his inclination. Count Raymond defended himself till after the battle of Bouvines, by which time Simon de Montfort, with his crusaders, had attained such a superiority over the Albigenses, that he rather regarded the engagement of Louis in the crusade as matter of jealousy, than as affording a prospect of support and assistance.

In such circumstances, Prince Louis was naturally called upon to rejoice, when he was summoned by his father to exchange the fruitless and oppressive persecution against these poor sectaries, for a more honourable warfare, which had for its object the conquest of England, and the utter destruction of King John's power.

As King John's misconduct and losses became more and more conspicuous abroad, his tyranny increased at home, and as his prerogative grew in fact weaker, he enraged his subjects by attempting to extend its limits in the most obnoxious instances. He caused the forest laws, always vexatious, to be executed with more than usual severity, casting down the enclosures of the royal forests, so that the wild deer, and other animals of the chase, might have uncontrolled access to the crops of the husbandmen. The barons were equally discontented with the people by his violent and oppressive exactions and claims, and took the field against him in such force, as obliged King John to submit to their just demands; on which occasion, he subscribed, at Runnamede, the celebrated grant of privileges, called Magna Charta, which the English still account the bulwark of their liberties. As these privileges, however just and equitable in themselves, were extorted most unwillingly from the monarch, the perfidious king took the

first opportunity to endeavour to recall them. He appealed for this purpose to the Pope, whom he had created his lord paramount; and the Pontiff, who received his claim of protection most favourably, expressed himself as highly offended at some of the articles of the Great Charter, and swore he would not suffer a sovereign, who was now an obedient vassal of the church, to be dictated to by his subjects in such a manner. He, therefore, annulled the grant of the Great Charter, as extorted by force, and not long after fulminated excommunications against the allied barons, and all who favoured them. John received still more powerful assistance from a large army of mercenary soldiers, whom he landed at Dover, and with whom he took Rochester. By this reinforcement, the king obtained a formidable advantage over the barons, who could not always keep their feudal followers under arms, since they had their land to cultivate and their crops to gather in, whereas the mercenaries could be

kept prepared for war at all times, and ready to be in the field at a minute's warning.

The barons in this emergency adopted the desperate alternative of throwing themselves into the hands of the King of France, rather than submit to the tyrant John. Two of their number were dispatched to the court of King Philip, offering to transfer their own allegiance, and the kingdom of England, to his eldest son Louis, on condition of his bringing an army to their assistance. The pretence of this interference on the part of France might be, that when the crown vassals were oppressed by their immediate lord, their lord paramount had a right to interfere for their redress. Even that excuse would not have justified in feudal law the substitution of the son in the fief, which, if forfeited at all, was an escheat to the father. But the case of the barons was desperate, and, conscious of John's revengeful temper, they sought for aid in the only manner in which they saw a chance of obtaining it. Accordingly, the tempting offer of a crown prevail-

ed on Philip and his son, the former in secret, and the latter openly, to accept eagerly the proposal of the barons, and to send an army of seven thousand men to reinforce the insurgent party in England, while Louis himself prepared a stronger expedition.

On the 23d of May, Louis arrived before Sandwich, with a gallant navy of six hundred sail, disembarked a corresponding number of land forces, marched towards London, and, having taken Rochester in his route, was welcomed with acclamations by the citizens. Here he received the homage of the barons who had invited him to their aid. A.D. 1216.

Hitherto every thing had been in favour of the young Prince of France, and the affairs of John went to ruin on all sides. The legate of the Pope strove in vain to defend him by the fulminations of the church. These were addressed both against Philip and his son Louis; but as the former monarch disavowed in public the proceedings of his son, the effectual excommunication fell only upon Louis

himself, who, receiving from his father by underhand means the encouragement and the supplies which were openly refused to him, and being, moreover, at the head of a military force, set at defiance the consequences of the spiritual censures. Indeed, it may be observed, that, even during this period, (although that in which the Romish church had the greatest influence on the world at large,) the Pope's excommunication was effectual, or otherwise, according to the opinion entertained by the nation in general, of the justice of the sentence. Thus we have seen, that a sentence of the church reduced John to almost total ruin, from which he only saved himself by the most absolute submission, and the transference of his dominions to the Roman see. On the other hand, the curse of Rome did not greatly affect Prince Louis, while the barons of England continued to espouse his cause. And not long subsequent to this time, Robert Bruce of Scotland, excommunicated as he was for the murder of Comyn, found the spiritual censure no great

impediment to the recovery of his crown. So that it was the force of public opinion, which added much to the effectual weight of the anathema of the church.

But the affairs of Louis were deranged by circumstances different from, and independent of, the Pope's sentence of excommunication, although, as the scale turned, that sentence acquired weight which it had not when first pronounced. In the space of the first two months Louis marched successfully through England, and reduced the whole southern parts of that kingdom to his obedience, But he met a check before the castle of Dover, which was defended with obstinacy and success by Hubert de Burgh, and a select garrison. The most formidable military engine of the French was in vain pointed against the walls of a place strong by nature, and fortified with all the skill of the period. Although success seemed almost impossible, Louis continued the siege with unavailing obstinacy, and the time which he wasted before Dover, gave John leisure once more

to collect his forces, and afforded opportunity for dissensions to spring up among the allies of Prince Louis. Windsor Castle was besieged by the prince with the same ill success as Dover. John was once more at the head of a formidable army, and what was still more ominous to the cause of Louis, the English barons began to draw off from his side, on discerning that he treated his countrymen with undue partiality, and afforded little countenance to the lords of England who had joined him. A report was spread, that the Viscount of Melun had, on his death-bed, confessed a purpose on the part of Louis to put to death the barons who had joined his party, as traitors to their natural monarch. Whether the report was founded in truth or not, it was certainly believed, insomuch, that several nobles of distinction deserted the cause of Louis, and returned to their original allegiance.

Many or most others were only withheld from doing the same, from a dread of the false and vindictive character of John, when, at

this critical period, an event took place which fortunately saved England from the dreadful alternative of a foreign yoke, or a bloody civil war. King John delivered the country from the extremity to which he had reduced it, by his sudden death, the only thing which could have relieved it. This prince, whose tyranny had occasioned the evils of his kingdom, and the general apprehension of whose perfidy prevented their being removed, died at Newark-upon-Trent, at the yet robust age of forty-nine years, on 19th October, 1216. A. D. 1216.

This opportune event changed the scene, for the revolted barons, already inclined to return to their allegiance, had now to treat with a young prince of the native family of their own kings, instead of a foreigner, whose faith they had some reason to distrust, or the tyrant John, whose treachery and cruelty were alike to be dreaded.

Henry III., the eldest son and successor of John, was only in his tenth year, so that the assistance of a guardian, or protector,

was absolutely necessary. The Earl of Pembroke, a wise and brave nobleman, was chosen to this eminent but difficult office. Loyal to the young prince, he was, at the same time, friendly to the liberties of the subject, and his first act was, as a voluntary grant on the part of the crown, to renew the Great Charter of the Liberties which John had granted with so much formality, and afterwards endeavoured to retract. This open and manly measure served as an assurance that, in the new reign, the regal power was to be administered with due respect to the freedom of the subject; and in consequence, the English barons, who could have no cause of personal complaint against the young king, began, upon this favourable prospect, to throng back to his standard, and to desert that of Louis of France.

Louis, who had received considerable reinforcements from his father, and was naturally reluctant to abandon what was once so hopeful an enterprise, still imprudently persevered in his attempts on Dover Castle, without being

able to overcome the resistance of Hubert de Burgh. Other indecisive sieges and skirmishes took place, until at length, in the beginning of the summer 1217, the French army, under the Earl of Perche, was totally defeated under the walls of Lincoln, and in the streets of the town. This disaster closed the struggle, and a treaty of peace was concluded betwixt Louis and the Lord Protector, Pembroke, by which the former honourably stipulated for the indemnity of such English barons as adhered to his party, and for the freedom, without ransom, of the numerous French prisoners taken at the battle of Lincoln. Under these conditions, Louis resigned his pretensions to the crown of England, and engaged to use his intercession with his father for the restoration of the fief of Normandy, and others conquered from King John by Philip; and if his intercession should prove ineffectual, the prince further bound himself to restore these foreign dominions to England, when he himself should accede to the throne of France. Prince Louis accordingly

A.D. 1217.

withdrew to France with all his forces, leaving the young prince, Henry, peacefully seated upon the throne. Thus terminated an important crisis, which threatened in the commencement to make England a province of France, as a fair and fertile part of France had, in the time of the kings succeeding the Conquest, been fiefs of England, until taken from John, who acquired from his loss of territory the dishonourable title of *Lack-land*, or landless.

Louis, the Prince of France, having left one field of strife in England, found in his own country another, which was almost equally unsuccessful. This was the renewed war against the unfortunate heretics in the south of France, called the Albigenses. These unhappy people had been treated with much oppression and cruelty by Simon de Montfort, who came against them at the head of the dissolute and disorderly bands who were called crusaders, conquered them, and had been created their earl, or count. But he continued to persecute the heretics with

such unrelenting severity, and so oppressed them, that, being able to endure their sufferings no longer, they rushed to arms, restored their old Count Raymond to the government of his fief, and became again formidable. Simon de Montfort hastened once more to form the siege of Toulouse; but the cause of the oppressed was victorious, and this cruel and tyrannical leader fell before the city, while his wife and family remained the prisoners of the Albigenses.

The Pope, alarmed at the success of these heretics, as he termed them, became urgent with King Philip to be active against them, while an assembly of the church, held at Mantes, again determined on preaching the crusade against the Albigenses. Philip, although he himself had gone to Palestine, in his memorable crusade with King Richard, was by no means a favourer of these impolitic expeditions. On the other hand, he dared not refuse the request of the Pope and clergy, and reluctantly permitted his son Louis, with an army of fifteen thousand men, again to

take the cross against the heretics in the south of France. But the prince prosecuted the war with so much coldness, that it was supposed Louis was either indifferent in the cause himself, or had private instructions from his father not to conduct it with activity. At length he was recalled from the enterprise entirely, by his father's command. The pretext was, the necessity of the prince's attendance on a grand council, to be held at Mantes, for considering an offer made by Amaury, son of Simon de Montfort. This young man, the heir of the title which his father had acquired over Toulouse by his first conquest, thought he perceived the reason why France was so cold in recovering these possessions. He therefore proposed to cede to the crown of France his own right to the earldom, that Philip and his son might have a deep personal interest in carrying on the war with vigour. This would probably have given more activity to the movements of Philip Augustus against the Albigenses. But he did not survive to accept of the ces-

sion offered by De Montfort, as he died of a fever at Mantes, in July, 1223. He was incomparably the greatest prince that had held the French throne since the days of Charlemagne. At his death, he left the proper dominions of France nearly doubled in extent, by his valour and prudence, and greatly improved in wealth, strength, and convenience, by the formation of roads, the fortification of defenceless towns, the creation of public works, and other national improvements, arising from his wise administration. He was in general successful in his military exploits, as much owing to the sagacity with which he planned, as to the bravery with which he executed them. The battle of Bouvines, in particular, was one of those decisive contests upon which the fate of nations depends; and had Philip been defeated, it is certain that France would have been divided by Otho and the confederates, and doubtful, to say the least, whether it could have been again united into one single kingdom of the first rank. A.D. 1223.

CHAP. III.

Accession of Louis the Lion—War with England—Crusade against the Albigenses—Death of Louis—Regency of Queen Blanche—Conspiracy of the Crown Vassals suppressed—Louis assumes the Cross—Lands at Damietta, and captures that place—Disasters of the French in their march to Grand Cairo—Louis and great part of his Army taken prisoners—Negotiations for their Ransom—Murder of the Sultan by his Body Guard—Conduct of the Assassins towards the French King—Confinement of the Queen during her Husband's captivity—Louis returns to France, on the Death of his Mother—his Despondency.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS was succeeded in his throne by his eldest son, Louis VIII., whose unsuccessful wars in England we have already noticed. He was called by the surname of the Lion, from his personal courage,

doubtless, rather than from his success in arms, of which last he had not much to boast.

He had scarcely assumed the throne, when he was greeted by an ambassador from Henry III., demanding the restoration of the provinces which the English monarch's ancestors had held in France, in terms of the treaty made and sworn to when he left England in 1217. Louis was, however, determined on no account to comply with this article, the fulfilment of which would have occasioned the revival of the English power in France, which had been so serious a subject of annoyance and apprehension to his predecessors. In vindication of the breach of his oath, he alleged that the English, on their part, had not fulfilled the treaty of 1217, that some of the English barons of his party had met with usage contrary to the promise of indemnity pledged in their behalf, and that some French prisoners, made at the battle of Lincoln, instead of being set at liberty in terms of the compact, had been compelled to ransom themselves.

Taking upon him, therefore, the character of one who had sustained, and not inflicted a wrong, King Louis, instead of restoring Normandy, proceeded, in imitation of his father's policy, to invade and besiege those towns which the English still possessed in Poitou; and Niort, Saint Jean d'Angeli, and finally Rochelle itself, fell into his hands, after a valiant defence. Bourdeaux, and the country beyond the Garonne, was the only part of the ample dominions within France, once acknowledging the English authority, which still remained subject to that power. This territory would probably have followed the fate of the other forfeited or reconquered fiefs; but Henry III., now a young man, sent an expedition, commanded by his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and consisting of a considerable number of troops, to its relief. At the same time he created Richard Count of Poitou. The Gascons were favourable to the English, with whom they maintained a profitable traffic. They were also flattered by the proposal to place them immediately un-

der the command of a prince of the English blood royal, and prepared to resist the invasion of Louis so obstinately, that the King of France thought it judicious to consent to a truce for three years. He had indeed still upon his hands the civil war with the Albigenses; and though he has been blamed for granting the English a truce, it may be supposed he acted wisely in undertaking only one of these formidable enterprises at a time. A.D. 1224.

He was urged to renew the crusade against the southern heretics, by the legate of the Pope, but in consenting to do so, failed not to secure such personal interest in the adventure, as might insure to himself the principal advantage of its success. For this purpose, Louis renewed the treaty which his father had commenced with Amaury de Montfort, and promising to that count the post of High Constable of France, when a vacancy should occur, he accepted from him the cession of all rights he inherited from his father, the Count of Toulouse.

Having thus provided for his own interest in the undertaking, the king assembled an army of fifty thousand men, consisting of the best and boldest of his vassals, at the head of their followers. With this large force he first besieged Avignon, where the citizens were at first disposed to open their gates, but refused to receive any person within them, except the king with his ordinary train. But unlimited access was demanded, and the townsmen, afraid too justly of pillage and massacre, shut their gates, and stood on their defence. They fought with the utmost obstinacy, and the besiegers lost above two thousand men, amongst whom was that celebrated Comte de Saint Paul, who had acquired so much honour at the battle of Bouvines. At length the citizens of Avignon were compelled to submit to a capitulation, the terms of which were uncommonly severe. The establishment of the Roman Catholic religion was exclusively provided for; and two hundred hostages were given to that effect, sons of the most wealthy inhabitants. Some

of those who had conducted the defence were hanged, or otherwise punished; the fortifications were dismantled; the ditches filled up; and three hundred of the best houses were levelled with the ground, to complete the humiliation of the city.

After Avignon had surrendered, it was the object of Louis to march against Toulouse, and inflict a similar vengeance on that town, the metropolis of the revolted provinces. But his army had suffered so severely from want of provisions, from the sword, and from pestilential disease, that the king was compelled to grant them some relaxation from military duty, which they were not at the time capable of discharging.

But Louis had himself performed before Avignon his last campaign. On retiring to Monpensier, he was seized with a fever, of which he died, 12th November, having reigned only four years, and being in the very prime of his manhood. He was succeeded by his only son, who bore his own name, and was afterwards distinguished in A.D. 1226.

the royal catalogue by the title of Saint Louis. The epithet of Saint, in those superstitious times, inferred at least as much weakness as virtue; and we shall see that Louis, while he was an honour to the character in the higher virtues, was not without the imperfections usually attending a reputation for sanctity, comprehending, of course, much devotion to the Pope, and great liberality to the church.

The Queen Blanche, relict of the deceased monarch, acted as regent for her son. She was eldest daughter of Alphonso, King of Castile, by his wife Eleanor, daughter of that celebrated Eleanor of Aquitaine, by her second marriage with Henry II. of England. The character of Blanche, during the life of her husband, had not been called forth to any remarkable display; but Louis VIII., who had great confidence in her wisdom, had named her in his settlement the regent of France, until his son should attain the years of majority. She had, therefore, an arduous duty to discharge, especially as very many of the crown vassals of the highest rank

dissatisfied with the power attained by the king during the last two reigns, had formed a league together, upon the principle of that which was adopted by the confederates, previous to the battle of Bouvines, and the purpose of which, Philip's victory in that battle had for the time disconcerted.

The opportune occurrence of a minority, during which the crown's authority was to be administered by a female, and a foreigner, seemed, to various of the petty princes, who were ambitious of rivalling the king in all but the name, a time highly fitted for recovering by force, if necessary, that degree of independence of which they had been deprived by the policy and success of Philip Augustus and his shortlived son, Louis the Lion. The still existing insurrection of the Albigenses was a great encouragement to the confederates, and Raymond of Toulouse was one of the most zealous of their number. He was one who could be easily justified; for, while the others became rebels and conspirators, for objects of personal

power and ambition, to which they had a very doubtful claim, Raymond was a prince unjustly deprived of his territories, which he was naturally desirous to recover.

The other nobles engaged in the conspiracy against the queen regent were, Philip, Count of Boulogne, the brother of the late king, who claimed the regency as of right appertaining to him by descent; the powerful Earls or Counts Thibault, of Champagne, Hugh de la Marche, Hugh de Saint Paul, Simon de Ponthieu; there was, besides, Peter, Duke of Bretagne; all princes of the first rank for wealth and power, which it was their object to hold with no greater degree of dependence on the crown of France, than they might find indispensable. In fact, it was their object to deprive the king of all power, beyond what might become a president of the *cour plénière*, and general of the armies of the kingdom.

Alone, or nearly so, a stranger and a woman, opposed to so many powerful nobles, Blanche conducted herself with great cou-

rage and ability. Ere the confederates had matured their plan of hostilities, she suddenly attacked Raymond of Toulouse, reduced him to ask terms by which he became bound to renounce the heretical opinions of the Albigenses, and to give his daughter and heiress in marriage to Alphonso, her own fourth son by the late king, and thus secured the final reversion of these rich territories to the royal family.

The next part of her undertaking was the subjugation of the confederates, who laid aside the mask, and began to show their real purpose; and here her female power, extreme beauty and corresponding address, were of the greatest service. Thibault, Count of Champagne, a prince of great possessions, was renowned alike as a good knight, and as an excellent troubadour, or poet, in which capacity he had, even during the life of her husband, Louis VIII., selected as the theme of his praise, and the sovereign mistress of his affections, no other than Blanche herself. The adoration of a poet,

in those times, had in it nothing that was necessarily hurtful to a lady's reputation; nevertheless, it was said the queen had expressed resentment at the liberty which the Count of Champagne had taken in fixing his affections so high, and in making his admiration so public. It is even surmised, that the severity with which the queen treated the enamoured poet, was so highly resented by him, that his mortification was the cause of his joining the confederates. But a woman of address and beauty knows well how to recover the affections of an offended lover; and if her admirer should be of a romantic and poetical temperament, he is still more easily recalled to his allegiance. It cost the queen but artfully throwing out a hint, that she would be pleased to see Thibault at court; and the faithful lover was at her feet, and at her command. On two important occasions, the enamoured troubadour disconcerted the plans of his political confederates, like a faithful knight, in obedience to the commands of the lady of his affections.

Upon one of these occasions, Count Thibault gave private intimation of a project of the malecontents to seize the person of the queen, on a journey from Orleans to Paris. Their purpose, being once known, was easily defeated, by the queen-mother throwing herself and her son into a strong fortress, till a suitable escort was collected to ensure their passage in safety to the capital. On another occasion, the king having called an assembly of his nobles to oppose Peter of Bretagne, who had appeared in open arms, the conspiring nobles agreed to bring each to the rendezvous a party of followers, in apparent obedience to the royal command, which, though it should seem but moderate, in regard to each individual prince's retinue, should, when united, form a preponderating force. But this stratagem was also disconcerted by the troubadour Earl of Champagne, who, to please his royal mistress, brought a stronger attendance than all the others put together, so that, as none of the other great vassals dared to take the part

of Peter of Bretagne, he was obliged to submit to the royal authority.

The Count of Champagne had like to have dearly bought his compliance with the pleasure of his lady-love, instead of pursuing the line of politics of the confederates. He was attacked by the whole confederacy, who, enraged at his tergiversation, agreed to expel him from his country, and confer Champagne upon the Queen of Cyprus, who had some claim to it as heiress of Thibault's elder brother. Blanche was so far grateful to her devoted lover, that she caused her son to march to his succour, and repel the attack on his territories. Yet she sought to gain something for the crown, by this act of kindness, and therefore intimated to the count, that, to defray the expenses of the war, and compensate the claims of his niece, it would be expedient that he should sell to the young king his territories of Blois, Chartres, Chateaudun, and Sansevre. The count murmured forth some remonstrances, in being required to part with so valuable a portion of his estates.

But so soon as Blanche, with a displeased look, reproached him with his disobedience and ingratitude, he fetched a deep sigh, as he replied, "By my faith, madam, my heart, my body, my life, my land, are all at your absolute disposal!" The crown of France acquired the territory accordingly.

It does not appear that the devotions of this infatuated lover were offensive to Queen Blanche herself, who, as a woman, might be proud of her absolute influence over a man of talents, and, as a politician, might judge it desirable to preserve that influence over a powerful nobleman, when it was maintained at the cheap price of an obliging word, or glance. But some of the French courtiers grew impatient of the absurd pretensions of Thibault to the queen's favour. They instigated Robert of Artois, one of the sons of Louis VIII., who was little beyond childhood, to put an affront upon the Count of Champagne, by throwing a soft cream-cheese in his face. Enthusiasm of every kind is peculiarly sensible to ridicule. Thibault

became aware that he was laughed at, and as the rank and youth of the culprit prevented the prince being the subject of revenge, the Count of Champagne retired from the court for ever, and in his feudal dominions endeavoured to find consolation in the favour of the muses, for the rigour, and perhaps the duplicity, of his royal mistress. This troubadour monarch afterwards became King of Navarre, and his extravagant devotion to beauty and poetry did not prevent his being held, in those days, a sagacious as well as accomplished sovereign.

Other intrigues the queen mother was able to disconcert, by timely largesses bestowed upon the needy among the conspirators, while some she subdued by force of arms. In the latter case, she committed the conduct of the royal forces to Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, the same who was taken prisoner at the battle of Bouvines, who conducted himself with all the fidelity and intelligence she could have desired. And, in short, by patience, courage, policy, and well-

nsed opportunity, Queen Blanche not only preserved that degree of authority which was attached to the throne when she was called to the administration of affairs, but consolidated and augmented it considerably.

It may be that the wars and intrigues of the Queen of France would have ended less fortunately, if the weight of England had been thrown into the opposite scale; and you may wonder that this was not the case, since no time could have occurred more suitable than the minority of Saint Louis, for the recovery of those French territories which the skill and conduct of Philip Augustus won from the imbecility of his contemporary, King John. Indeed, at the accession of Louis VIII., when the period was less favourable, Henry III., or his counsellors, had, as we observed, made a formal demand that Normandy, and the other provinces claimed by England, should be restored. But although many of the barons of the provinces once attached to England offered their assistance eagerly; although the possession of Bourdeaux ren-

dered a descent easy; although the Duke of Bretagne, whom we have mentioned as a chief of the league against the crown of France, endeavoured to urge the court of England to an invasion, which he pledged himself to support with his utmost force; yet the character of Henry III. of England was totally unfit for such an undertaking. He had some of his father John's faults, being, though less cruel than he, fully as timid in his person, and as rash in his attempts. He was extravagantly expensive, and notoriously faithless; an encroacher upon the rights of his subjects, and repeatedly guilty of the breach of his most solemn promises and engagements to them. Henry was also, like his father, an indolent and wretched conductor of an undertaking requiring activity and resolution. In 1229, Henry did indeed attempt his long-threatened invasion of France; but with so little precaution, that, when his army was assembled, it was found there had been no care taken to provide an adequate number of vessels. They passed

A.D. 1229.

to St Maloes, however, and were joined by the Duke of Bretagne, with all his forces; but instead of leading the army to action, Henry spent the money which had been provided for their support in mere lavish and expensive follies, and returned to England after three or four months' idle and useless stay in France, almost without having broken a lance in the cause which had induced him to leave his kingdom. On returning to England, this imprudent prince became engaged in those intestine divisions with his people which were called the Barons' Wars, and which left him no time, if he had had inclination, to trouble himself about the affairs of France. Meantime, the Duke of Bretagne, deserted by his ally, was hard pressed by the royal forces, and demanded a respite only till he should make application to Henry for relief. On receiving a refusal, the unfortunate duke saw himself obliged to present himself before his sovereign, the King of France, with a halter around his neck, and solicit mercy in the most humiliating

terms. The disgrace of this pageant lay with the English king, whose neglect to support his ally had rendered this scene of abject submission the only road to safety which the deserted prince could pursue.

England being thus occupied with her internal quarrels, the Queen-mother Blanche met with no interruption from that quarter, while she extended the power of her son over the discontented vassals whose object it had been to restrict it. But with her grandmother Eleanor of Aquitaine's masculine energies of disposition, Blanche possessed no small share of her ambition. She was in no hurry to surrender to her son the supreme power which she had administered so well; nor did the dutiful Louis, though now approaching his twenty-first year, seem impatient to take upon himself the character of governor. On the contrary, although he assumed the name of sovereign, yet he continued to yield to the queen-mother, at least in a great measure, the actual power of administration.

It was said, that this deference to maternal authority, more implicit than was becoming for him to yield, or his mother to exact, arose from his having been educated more like a monk, to whom strict obedience is one great duty enjoined, than like a sovereign, who was not only to think for himself, but to decide upon the actions of others. Signs of this monastic education were to be seen in the bigoted attachment with which the future saint regarded every thing either really religious, or affecting to be so; and the narrowness of his mode of thinking in this respect led to the principal misfortunes of his reign. It is possible, however, that committing his education almost entirely to churchmen, might be a measure adopted as much from the queen-mother's own superstitious feelings, as from a desire to keep her son in the background.

Blanche's jealousy of those of her own sex who approached her son, and sought to please him, was not, perhaps, an extraordinary, though an inconvenient excess of maternal

fondness. But she was singularly unreasonable in extending her jealousy to her son's wife, a beautiful woman, Margaret, one of the daughters of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence. The servants of the household had orders, when the king and queen were in private together, to whip the dogs which were about the royal apartment, so that the cries of the animals might give the queen-mother a hint to burst in on the retirement and privacy of her son and his wife. The young queen reproached her mother-in-law with this jealous vigilance; and when Blanche caused Louis to remove from the apartment in which his wife was about to be confined, "You will not let me speak with my husband," said Margaret, "whether living or dying."

The docility of the son, in a case where he had a reasonable excuse for resistance, seems to have been carried to an amiable excess. Yet, it is certain, that, whether her conduct in this particular arose out of policy or mistaken fondness, the love of Blanche

for her son was equally sincere and maternal. In the bias, however, which his mind had taken towards a strict interpretation of his duties in morality and religion, tinged as the latter was with the superstition of his age, it was plain that the first impulse which Louis might consider as a direction from heaven, would induce him to fall into the prevailing error of the time, by assuming the cross, and departing for the Holy Land.

Accordingly a sudden illness, in which he remained insensible for the space of twenty-four hours, struck the young king with such alarm, that he took the cross from the hands of the Archbishop of Paris, and made a solemn vow to march in person against the infidels with a royal army. It was in vain that the wisest of his ministers pointed out to Louis the disasters which his predecessors had sustained by such imprudent and ill-fated engagements. Even his mother, though his departure must restore her to full power as regent, in name as well as authority, dissuaded her son from this fatal enterprise

In reply, the king maintained, that as he had continued to recover hourly since his vow was taken, the purport of it must of course have been agreeable to the divine will; and he would only promise that he would endeavour to arrange the preparations for his enterprise, at full leisure, and with as much precaution as should secure its success, and the safety of his dominions during his absence. He obtained from the church a grant of the tenth of their revenues, to sustain the expense of his undertaking. Gradually, too, he prevailed upon many of the nobility, and among these the Count of Marche and the Duke of Bretagne, two of the most powerful and turbulent of their number, to follow his example, and accompany him to the East.

The motions of the future saint were arrested during his preparations, by the arrival at his court of Richard, King of the Romans, brother of Henry III. of England, with an embassy from that power. "Sir King of France," said this distinguished envoy, "you cannot undertake to wage a holy war against

the infidels, until you do justice to your brother of England, bereft as he has been by your father of the provinces belonging to him in France."

The King of France was so much startled at this objection to his purpose, that he referred the case, as a scruple of conscience, to a conclave of Norman bishops; and it was not till they formally gave their opinion that no restitution should be made, that Louis declined the request of the King of the Romans.

King Louis now prepared for his crusade, and departed, carrying with him his young wife, although the instance of Philip le Jeune was a bad example to recommend such policy. Robert and Charles, his two brothers, also accompanied the king in his adventurous expedition. Passing down the Rhone from Lyons, he embarked from the shores of the Mediterranean, and landed at Cyprus on the 25th September, 1274. It was his purpose to proceed from thence in the spring, in order to invade the kingdom of A.D. 1274.

Egypt; for experience had made it obvious, that, although Palestine might be conquered for a season, it could never be effectually protected or defended, as an independent Christian state, until the infidels should be deprived of the populous and rich kingdom of Egypt, which lay so near the Holy Land. The number of his army amounted to about fifty thousand men, of which it was computed there were ten thousand cavalry; and they disembarked in safety, as they had proposed, before the town of Damietta. Here Louis, who, with all his superstition, displayed a great fund of personal worth and bravery, sprung into the sea in complete armour, waded ashore among the foremost, with the Oriflamme displayed, and made good his landing in spite of twenty thousand men, by whom the shore and city of Damietta were defended. The invaders seized upon, and garrisoned the city, which was opulent, extensive, and well fortified. Louis, with wise precaution, took into his custody the magazines which they had acquired in the storm

which followed the capture; but the subordinate leaders of the crusade were dissatisfied, contending that, on such occasions, the share of the commander-in-chief was limited to one-third of the spoil, and that the rest belonged to his associates. This introduced dissatisfaction and insubordination among the feudal lords, and greatly affected Louis's authority.

Want of discipline being thus introduced, it was speedily perceived that the army of Saint Louis was not of better morals than those of other crusaders, and the utmost licentiousness was practised, under the countenance of some of the courtiers, within a stone's cast of the king's own pavilion. In the meantime, the crusaders remained in Damietta, waiting, first for the abatement of the inundation of the Nile, and thereafter for the arrival of Alphonso, Count of Poitiers, who had been separated from his brother by stress of weather, or, as others say, had been later than Louis in setting out from France. This prince arrived at length; and Louis resolved

to sally from the city, for the purpose of marching to Grand Cairo, which the invaders termed Babylon. But the river Nile, which the Christians believed to come from the terrestrial Paradise, was at that time still in flood, and interrupted their march on every side. One broad canal, in particular, opposed their passage. As they had neither boats nor bridges, the crusaders attempted to cross the canal by means of a mound—an awkward contrivance, in which they totally failed. While engaged in this fruitless labour, the Christians were opposed at every turn by the light-armed Saracens, who attacked the military engines by which they endeavoured to cover their passage, with balls of Greek fire, a species of inflammable matter shot from the artillery then in use, extremely difficult to quench, and which flew through the air, resembling in appearance a fiery dragon. Saint Louis himself seems rather to have sought refuge in his tears and devotions, than in attempting to stop the conflagration. The crusaders were obliged to renew the engines

which had been destroyed, with such part of the ships as could be dismantled for that purpose. The Count of Artois, with imprudent valour, found at length the means of passing the canal at a dangerous ford; and, instead of halting till he was supported, rushed on with two thousand horse, and forced his way into the village of Massoura, where the Saracens gave themselves up for lost. But their troops being rallied by a valiant soldier, who was afterwards raised to the rank of sovereignty, the advanced party of the Count of Artois were enclosed within the village. The inhabitants poured on them stones, javelins, arrows, scalding water, and all sorts of missiles, from the roofs of the houses, which were flat, and well adapted to this species of defence. Most of the Christians were slain; and the Count of Artois, after having for some time defended himself in one of the houses of the village, at length fell fighting valiantly.

The king, to whom his brother's death was reported, wept bitterly for the loss he had

sustained; and was much grieved when he heard that the chief of the Saracens displayed the coat-of-armour of the fallen prince, as if it had been that of the king himself. Although the French had the worst in this unequal and confused battle, their chivalry maintained the reputation which it had in Europe. Louis, surrounded by several Saracens, defended himself against them all; and when six of the principal Mamelukes took shelter behind a heap of stones, from the shot of the French crossbows, to which they replied with arrows and Greek fire, a stout priest called John de Waysy, clad in his cuirass and head-piece, and armed with his two-handed sword, rushed on them so suddenly, that, astonished at his resolution, they dispersed themselves and fled. But notwithstanding these, and many other feats of arms highly honourable to the crusaders, the losses of the Saracens were easily replaced; whereas, every soldier that fell on the part of the French, was an irreparable loss. A subsequent action, in which the

Greek fire was showered upon the Christians, so that it covered even Louis's own horse, and burnt whatever was opposed to it, both men and military engines, completed the disasters of this unfortunate army. The invaders were now reduced to a defensive warfare; and this was sustained at the greatest disadvantage. A dreary duty remained, after these battles were over. The king, says his historian Joinville, hired a hundred labourers to separate the bodies of the Christians from those of the pagans; the former were interred; the Saracens were thrust under the bridge, and floated down to the sea.

"God knows," says the gallant knight, "how noisome was the smell, and how miserable it was to see the bodies of such noble and worthy persons lie exposed. I witnessed the chamberlain of the late Count of Artois seeking the body of his master, and many more hunting after those of their friends; but none who were exposed to the infectious smell, while engaged in this office,

ever recovered their health. Fatal diseases in consequence broke out in the army; their limbs were dried up and destroyed, and almost all were seized with a complaint in the mouth, from which many never recovered." The scurvy, which is intimated by this last disease, made frightful ravages among the crusaders, a part of whom were now cooped up in Damietta, or under its walls. The Saracens dragged their armed galleys across the land, and launched them in the Nile, beneath the city, which was thus blockaded by land and water. Provisions were extremely scarce, and the eels of the river, which fed upon the numberless dead bodies, became the principal subsistence of the French army, and increased the pestilential disease.

The condition of the Christians became now so desperate, that Louis resolved to retreat to Damietta, and call in all the outposts and vanguard of his army, which were on their march to Cairo. The king himself might have made his retreat in safety by water; but it was no part of his plan to desert

his army. He himself quitted his own battalion, and, with Sir Geoffrey de Sergines, joined the rear division, thus continuing his countermarch as far as the town of Casel. In the latter part of his retreat, the Turks came so close upon him, that Sir Geoffrey was obliged to drive them off with strokes of the blade and point of his sword; at length, the unfortunate prince was reduced to such a state, that he was obliged to lie down with his head in the lap of a female, who had come from Paris; he expected every moment to die in that posture. Walter de Chatillon, with the constancy of a gallant knight, planted himself alone at the door of the house in which the king lay, attacked every infidel who passed, and put them repeatedly to flight. The king, who saw him rush to the attack alone, brandishing his sword, and rising in his stirrups, exclaimed, in his hour of distress, "Ha, Chatillon! gallant knight, where are all our good companions?" The faithful knight was at length overpowered by numbers, and his fate made known by the con

dition of his horse, which was seen covered with blood in the possession of a Saracen, who claimed the merit of having slain its gallant master.

In the meantime, most of those who had fled, rather than retreated, towards Damietta, had already been slaughtered by the Saracens, or had delivered themselves up to captivity. Scarcely even the deplorable catastrophe of Louis le Jeune was more unfortunate in its consequences, than the termination of the last crusade but one, prepared for with so much care, and ending with so much wretchedness. The King, his remaining brother, many princes of the blood royal and high noblesse, and the wreck of his noble army, fell as captives into the hands of the infidels, and were treated with the most atrocious severity.

Upon the first surrender of the prisoners, the only choice assigned them was that of embracing the Moslem faith, or submitting to instant death; and by far the greater part adopted the choice of martyrdom. When, however, it began to be discovered that most

of the prisoners had the means of paying a high ransom, the barbarians, into whose hands they fell, became more desirous of lucre than of bloodshed, and exchanged for ransom most of those who were able to comply with their demands. The Sultan of Egypt began also to reflect that Damietta was still garrisoned by the Christians, and might safely apprehend their retaining it till succours should come from Europe. These considerations made him desirous of an accommodation, by which he should rid Egypt of its troublesome visitors.

But the nature of the government to which that country was now subjected, rendered the fate of the prisoners extremely uncertain, and precarious; but to enable you to understand the circumstances in which they were placed, it is necessary to explain what the nature of that government was.

Touran Shah, the reigning sultan of Egypt, was a great-grandson of the brother of the famous Saladin, whom we have seen the opponent of Richard Cœur de Lion; but the

followers of these sultans had been rendered effeminate by the pleasures of a rich country, and were no longer capable of engaging in battle, or attaining victory over such rugged opponents, as King Louis and his Franks. To supply this general deficiency of courage and spirit in their soldiers, the preceding Sultans of Egypt had been accustomed to levy chosen troops from the numerous bands of slaves, which they bought on the verge of Tartary, or in other foreign countries. These, chiefly Georgians, Circassians, and the like, were selected while children, for their form and strength, carefully educated in martial exercises, and taught to understand from early years that their distinction in life must depend upon the undaunted use which they should learn to make of their spears and scimitars. They were allowed high pay and great privileges, and those who distinguished themselves were raised to the rank of officers over the others. From these chosen troops the sultan selected his vizirs, generals, lieutenants, and governors.

As has been always found the case in similar instances, this body of mercenary soldiers became dangerous even to the prince in whose service they were enrolled, and frequently assumed the right of disposing of the crown, which they were engaged to defend, as well as the life of him that wore it. It was they who, with such determined valour, had interrupted the advance, and followed up the retreat, of the valiant Franks; and, filled with a high idea of their own prowess, and a contempt of the native troops of the country, they thought that Touran Shah was not sufficiently grateful to them for the victory which he had obtained by their support, or that he manifested some intention of laying them aside for a more docile soldiery.

Of this unfortunate sultan we know little; but he appears neither to have been destitute of the bravery nor the generosity which became a successor of Saladin. The valiant Sieur de Joinville saw him in the front of battle, taller by the shoulders than those around him, and wielding with courage the

German sword which he bore in his hand. His gilded helmet was placed proudly on his head; "and I never," says the historian, "saw a more gallant man under arms." Nor was his conduct less princely than his appearance. At first, indeed, the French in their captivity were threatened with a terrific death by torture, unless they would renounce the Christian faith to ensure their personal safety. Such a proposal, under such tremendous threats, was made to the king himself. But when Saint Louis showed by his firmness that he held such menaces in scorn, the Saracen prince sent a message in a milder tone, demanding to know what ransom the captive monarch was willing to pay, in addition to the surrender of Damietta, which was stipulated as one indispensable condition of his freedom.

The King of France replied, that if a reasonable ransom was demanded, he would write to the queen, who was still enclosed within the walls of Damietta, to pay it for him and for his army. The Saracens, whose

manners permitted of no admission of women to their councils, asked with surprise to what purpose the queen should be consulted in such an affair. "Have I not reason?" answered the simple-mannered and gallant-hearted Louis; "is she not my wife and my companion?" A second message informed the captive monarch that his ransom was fixed by the sultan at a million of golden bezants,—equal, says Joinville, to five hundred thousand livres. At once, and without attempting farther to chaffer upon the bargain, "I will cheerfully give," said Louis, "five hundred thousand livres for ransom of my army; and for my own I will surrender the town of Damietta to the sultan; for my rank is too high to be valued in money." The sultan was seized with a generous emulation. "He is a right generous Frank," said Touran Shah, "who does not cheapen our first offer like a merchant or pedlar; tell him I abate my demand in one-fifth, and that four hundred thousand livres shall be a most sufficient ransom." He also sent garments for the

king's use, and seemed disposed to part with him upon liberal terms.

But while Touran Shah was disposing of the fate of another, he little knew how near he approached to his own. The discontent of his body-guard of slaves, then called Haleuca, and the same which are now distinguished by the well-known name of Mamelukes, had risen to the highest. They broke out into insurrection, attacked the unfortunate Touran Shah, set fire to his pavilion, and cut that unfortunate prince to pieces.

Having committed this murder, they came before the king and the French captives, with their bloody battle-axes and sabres in their hands. "What will you give me," said the foremost assassin, who was yet streaming with the blood of Touran Shah, "who have slain the enemy that sought thy life?" To this Saint Louis returned no answer. The French knights confessed themselves to each other, expecting to be immediately massacred. Yet in the very flushed moment of their king's murder, and while seeming

still greedy of more blood, the conspirators felt restraint from the dignified demeanour of their disarmed prisoner. They also remembered that Damietta still held a Christian garrison, which might give them trouble. Under such impressions, they showed indeed a disposition sufficiently mischievous, yet they entered into new conditions, somewhat similar to those that had been prescribed by the murdered Touran Shah, but stipulating that the king should take an oath, binding him to renounce his baptism and his faith, with the inestimable privileges purchased by them, in case he did not comply with all the articles of the treaty. Louis constantly and magnanimously answered, "he would rather die a good Christian, than live by taking the impious and sinful oath which they would force upon him." The Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was present at the moment, was immediately seized by the soldiers, and tied to a post, so tightly, that the blood sprung from his hands, while the old man in agony called upon the king to swear boldly what-

ever the infidels chose, since he would take the sin upon his own soul, rather than endure this horrid torture. But whether the oath was taken or not, Joinville declares he cannot tell.

In the meantime the scene suddenly changed, as was not unnatural among such fickle and barbarous men. A mirthful sound of trumpets and kettle-drums was heard before the tent, and King Louis was presented with an invitation from the chiefs of the late conspiracy, to become their sultan and sovereign, in room of the murdered Touran Shah. That such a proposal should be started, among other wild plans, by men in the condition of the Mamelukes, slaves, strangers, and foreigners, indifferent to the Mahometan religion, and impressed by the undaunted bravery of their royal captive, was not perhaps so unnatural as if it had been made elsewhere, or by others. But it does not seem to have been generally embraced, or seriously insisted on. On the contrary, some of the leading emirs were of opinion,

that, to atone for the treasonable slaughter of Touran Shah, a good Mahometan, by their hands, it was their duty to put to death Saint Louis and his followers, the mortal enemies of Mahomet and his religion. At length, however, the proposition for mercy prevailed, and a treaty for ransom was carried into execution.

While these strange negotiations, if indeed they can be called such, were proceeding in this wild and uncertain manner, Joinville informs us of other circumstances respecting the Queen of France, who, as I before informed you, having accompanied her husband in this calamitous expedition, was enclosed with the remnant of the crusaders that held out Damietta. She was at that time with child; a circumstance adding much to the distress of her situation, during her husband's captivity, aggravated by the probability that she herself might fall into the hands of the victorious infidels. Her period of confinement was now close approaching.

"Three days before she was brought to

bed," says the faithful chronicler of the expedition, "she was informed that the good king her husband had been made prisoner, which so troubled her mind, that she seemed continually to see her chamber filled with Saracens, ready to slay her; and she incessantly kept crying, 'Help, help!' when there was not a soul near her. For fear the fruit of her womb should perish, she made a knight watch at the foot of her bed all night without sleeping. This person was very old, not less than eighty years, or perhaps more; and every time she screamed, he held her hands, and said, 'Madam, do not be thus alarmed; I am with you; quit these fears.' Before the good lady was brought to bed, she ordered every person to leave her chamber, except this ancient knight, when she cast herself out of bed on her knees before him, and requested that he would grant her a boon. The knight, with an oath, promised compliance. The queen then said, 'Sir knight, I request, on the oath you have sworn, that, should the Saracens storm this

town and take it, you will cut off my head before they seize my person.' The knight replied, that he would cheerfully do so, and that he had before thought of it, in case such an event should happen. The queen was, shortly after, delivered of a son in the town of Damietta, whose name was John, and his sirname Tristan, (*i. e.* the *Sad*,) because he had been born in misery and poverty. The day he was born, it was told the queen that the Pisans, the Genoese, and all the poorer European commonalty (sailors), that were in the town, were about to fly with their vessels, and leave the king. The queen sent for them. 'Gentlemen,' she said, 'I beg of you, for the love of God, that you will not think of quitting this town; for you well know, if you do, that my lord the king and his whole army will be ruined. At least, if such be your fixed determination, have pity on this wretched person who now lies in pain, and wait until she be recovered, before you put it in execution.'"

To carry her solicitations into effect, the

queen was obliged to purchase provisions to feed these wretched mariners, who complained that they must otherwise perish by hunger; and the sum so expended amounted to two hundred and sixty thousand livres, the difficulty of finding which was an augmentation of her distress.

In this manner, after suffering repeated hardships, Louis, his queen, and his lords, were at length permitted to embark for Acre, at the head of the remnant of his army. When he had thus arrived on ground where he might consider himself as perfectly free, King Louis again became inspired with the rash Quixotry of persisting in his crusade. The Christians, or Latins, of Syria, found it their interest to foster this enthusiasm, by holding out remote and fanciful prospects of his receiving assistance. Louis was amused with wild stories of the Scheik, or Chief, of the Assassins, who was supposed peculiarly friendly to the King of France, and of an imaginary prince, a Christian by profession, and a Tartar by birth, whom these times

termed Prester John, and from whose ideal assistance Louis was taught to expect the means of retrieving his affairs. It was still less, however, such fallacious hopes of foreign and eastern assistance, than a sense of mortification as a devotee, and dishonour as a true knight, which rendered Louis reluctant to return to his own kingdom, without having distinguished his arms in some victory against the Mahometans.

To pave the way for this much-desired object, Louis displayed great ability and diligence in allaying quarrels among the Christians in Palestine, for which he was admirably fitted by the native justice and benevolence of his character, and also in fortifying Acre, Cæsarea, Joppa, and other places of importance, and in preparing for a new war in Syria.

The immediate result of his labours was highly useful to Syria, insomuch that the king obtained the honourable title of Father of the Christians. But in acting towards these eastern Latins with wisdom and bene-

volence, Louis forgot that he owed a still more pressing duty to his own kingdom, where general confusion prevailed. For, while Louis thus pleased his fancy by providing for battles in Palestine that were never to be fought, the disorders occasioned by the news of his captivity had thrown all France into dismay. His mother, Queen Blanche, who acted as regent, had lost in some degree that strength and alertness of mind which distinguished her during her son's minority. Upon his departure from Marseilles, she fainted on bidding him adieu, and could scarcely be recalled to life,—showing plainly that she felt her son's absence more deeply than she was gratified by her own elevation to authority. Finally, receiving the melancholy tidings of his defeat and imprisonment, her sorrow seems to have weakened her understanding.

She suffered a wretched monk, somewhat resembling one of those bigots who led the first expedition under Peter the Hermit, to gather together a rabble of the lowest rank, to

whom he tried to preach a new crusade, for the purpose of effecting the liberation of the king. The disorderly vagabonds, thus assembled, who lived at first upon alms, became soon guilty of plunder, and gave rise to a civil war, in which they were at length defeated and extirpated by the forces of the government, but not without much loss and confusion. This intestine disorder was likely to be increased by a war with England, upon the expiry of the truce between these countries.

In the meantime Queen Blanche, the regent-mother, became altogether broken-hearted on hearing of her son's misfortunes, and retired into a convent, where she died of melancholy. Her death was naturally a subject of affliction to King Louis; but the young Queen Margaret, considering the terms on which she stood with her mother-in-law, could scarcely be supposed to share deeply in his affliction. On receiving these tidings, Louis yielded to necessity, and pre-

pared to return to France with the remains of his army.

During his voyage from Syria, the king showed many marks of sorrow and dejection, the consequences no doubt of the unsatisfactory issue of his crusade; his temper also became austere, and even gloomy, of which the following is an instance. At one time he enquired for his brother, whom he accused of having avoided his presence, although they were both in the same galley. When Louis at length discovered the Comte d'Anjou in the act of playing at tables with Sir Walter de Nemours, he staggered towards them, though scarcely able to stand from severe illness, seized the dice and tables, which he flung into the sea, and severely rebuked his brother for engaging in this trifling amusement, forgetful of the death of their brother, the Comte d'Artois, and of the extreme danger from which they had been providentially extricated. "But," says De Joinville, with some naïveté, "Sir Walter

de Nemours suffered the most, for the king flung all the money that lay on the tables after them into the sea."

When Louis arrived, after a voyage of ten weeks, upon the coast of Provence, he was persuaded with difficulty to land at Hieres, because that port was not his own property. He yielded, however, in consideration of the illness of the ladies, and once more, with diminished forces, and somewhat of a tarnished reputation, resumed possession of his own kingdom. His melancholy countenance, in which he bore the deep marks of dejection, and the plainness of his dress, in which he never assumed royal splendour, implied how much he had suffered since his departure, both in mind and body.

CHAP. IV.

Wise and peaceful Reign of Saint Louis—his Expedition against Tunis, and Death—The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies given by the Pope to Charles of Anjou, brother of Saint Louis—Arrival of Charles before Tunis, with reinforcements—Treaty with the Sultan—the Crusade abandoned—Vigorous Administration of Philip the Hardy—his Second Marriage—The Queen accused by her Husband's Favourite of poisoning her Stepson—she is acquitted, and the Favourite disgraced and executed—Wars to decide the possession of the Crown of the Two Sicilies—The Sicilian Vespers—Philip's unsuccessful attempt to take possession of the Kingdom of Arragon—his Death.

KING LOUIS, upon his return to France, manifested the same prudence, wisdom, and judgment in his measures, which he had shown in Syria to less effectual purpose. He

hastened to make peace with England, in consideration of which he received Henry III. at Paris with sumptuous hospitality. The claims of England upon Normandy were now rather antiquated. "I would willingly restore the province," said the King of France to the English monarch, in a confidential manner, "but my peers and barons will not consent to my doing so." King Henry therefore exchanged his claims on Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, for some trifling territories adjacent to Gascony, the only portion of Henry II.'s French dominions which his grandson still retained.

Louis now reigned in peace and honour. From the universal confidence reposed in his justice and equity, both his own subjects and strangers were frequently in the custom of referring to him matters which were in debate between them. This course was the more resorted to, as the good king frequently indemnified at his own expense the party against whom he gave his award. Thus, when the queen's mother,

the Countess of Provence, disputed the right of some castles with the king's brother, the Count of Anjou, Louis decreed that they should be purchased by the latter from the Count of Provence, but at the same time gave his brother money to pay the price. In any dispute with the crown, the opposite party found it most advantageous to trust to the candour of the king himself, who always judged his own side of the cause with the greatest severity. Thus this good king gained the hearts of the insubordinate vassals who had often conspired against his predecessors.

This able prince was farther distinguished as a legislator, in which capacity, the manners and customs of that age being considered, he makes a distinguished figure in French history, and may fairly be preferred to any sovereign who at that time flourished in Europe. In particular, he endeavoured to maintain the tranquillity of the kingdom, by the suppression of the numerous private quarrels among the great vassals of the crown, and greatly curbed the right which they assumed

of taking the field like independent sovereigns, as had been formerly their custom. These great lords, overawed by the reputation and power of the king, were now, generally, compelled to bring their contests before his tribunal, instead of deciding them by arms.

Saint Louis also laid under restrictions the trial by single combat, at least as much as the manners of the time, partial to that species of decision, would permit the alteration.

By these and other enactments, Saint Louis studied to make his people happy, while his own demeanour indicated too fully that he had at his heart the rooted feeling of having sustained discomfiture and disgrace in Egypt, where he had most hoped to deserve success, and to acquire glory. His robes of ceremony were laid aside, and he seldom shared personally in the banquets which he provided for his courtiers and nobles. The French king was, for humility's sake, attended, even at meals, by troops of beggars, to whom he distributed provisions with his own

royal hand. There was something of affectation in this; but the principle on which he acted seems, from other circumstances, to have been sincere.

His desire for the general peace of Europe, and his efforts to appease the quarrels of the great, incurred the censure of some of his statesmen, who wished to persuade him that he would act with more policy by suffering their discords to augment, and even by aggravating their quarrels, than by endeavouring to end them. To such advisers, Louis, in that case justly deserving the epithet of Saint, used to reply, "they counselled him ill; for," added he, "should the neighbouring princes and great barons perceive that I instigated wars amongst them, or at least that I did not labour to restore peace, they might well imagine that I acted thus either through malevolence or indifference—an idea which would be sure to tempt them to enter into dangerous confederacies against me; besides that, in acting otherwise than I do, I should provoke the

indignation of God, who has written in his Gospel, 'Blessed are the peace-makers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'" In like manner, his advisers upbraided him that he neglected to take advantage of the weakness of Henry III., to wrest from the English the considerable share which they still retained of the French territory in Gascony. On this subject, also, he defended himself by proving that an honest and upright conduct was the best policy which a king could observe; "he was aware," he said, "that John of England had justly forfeited the greater part of his dominions in France; nor did he meditate the extravagant generosity of restoring them to his son. On the other hand, he felt himself obliged to abstain from coveting that portion to which Henry retained a legal right through his grandmother Eleanor."

While thus behaving with moderation and generosity to his neighbours, and even to his enemies, Louis performed in his own person the duty of a judge, and was often found, like the Kings of Judah, sitting in the

gates of his palace, to render justice indifferently to all those who presented themselves to ask it of him.

By his attention to the public good, as well in making laws as in enforcing them, the king became deservedly beloved, and proved effectually that no subtleties of worldly policy could carry an empire to such a height of peace and happiness, as the generous and worthy conduct of a prince acting upon religious and moral principles.

With all that was so excellent in the character and conduct of St Louis, he was subject, as we have already hinted, to a strain of superstition, the great vice of the age, which impelled him into measures that finally brought ruin upon himself, and severe losses upon the state. At the bottom of his thoughts, he still retained the insane hope of being more successful in a new crusade than in that in which he had encountered defeat and captivity; and after sixteen years had been devoted to the improvement and good government of his own dominions, he again prepa-

red a fleet and army to invade the territories of a Mahometan prince. Neither Palestine nor Egypt was the object of this new attack. The city of Tunis, upon the coast of Africa, was the destined object of the expedition. Credulous in all concerning the holy war, Louis conceived that the Mahometan king of Tunis was willing to turn Christian, and become his ally, or vassal; and, by possessing a powerful influence, through the occupation of this fertile country, he hoped he should make the conversion of this prince the means of pushing his conquests, and extending Christianity over Egypt and Palestine also.

It was in the year 1270, that he gave finally this proof that his superstition was as active and as credulous as ever. He carried with him, as before, the princes of his own family, and many of his principal vassals. The most remarkable of these, both by merit and rank, was Edward, Prince of Wales, who seized that opportunity to exhibit against the infidels fresh proofs of the courage and military conduct which he had displayed in

A.D. 1270.

his own country during the civil conflicts called the Barons' Wars. He was followed by a body of select troops, and distinguished himself greatly.

This expedition, which formed the eighth, and proved the last crusade, was in its outset assailed by a tempest, by which the fleet, ill constructed to encounter storms, sustained great loss. In three days, however, Louis assembled the greater part of his armament before Tunis. Here the infidel monarch, whom he had hoped to convert to the Christian religion, instead of showing the expected docility, received him at the head of a strong army, with which he prepared to defend his city against the invaders. Louis immediately landed; and the French, in their disembarkation, obtained some successes. These, however, were only momentary, for the crusaders had no sooner formed a close siege around the town, which was too strong to be carried save by blockade, than diseases of a destructive character broke out in their army. The want of water and forage increa-

sed the progress of contagion; and constant skirmishing with the enemy, for which the Moors chose the most advantageous positions, added the waste of the sword to that of epidemic disease. The infection approached the person and family of the king; his eldest son died of a fever; his younger son, Tristan, who received birth in Damietta, during the miseries of his father's first crusade, now passed from existence amidst the ruin of his second attempt. Louis himself, attacked by the fever which had robbed him of two sons, called to his pillow, Philip, his eldest remaining child, and exhausted what remained of life and strength in giving him his parting instructions.

On the 25th of August, 1270, this good king died, to whose reign, one only misfortune attached, namely, that too little of it was spent in the bosom of his own kingdom, and in attention to its interests, which he understood so well. But France, so populous and powerful a nation, speedily recovered the loss incurred by the unfortunate crusades, A.D. 1270.

while the effect of the wise laws introduced by Saint Louis, continued to influence his kingdom through a long train of centuries.

Meantime, Charles, Count of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis, had obtained a crown for his own brow, which he had hoped to render yet more stable, had his brother succeeded in the expedition against Tunis, to which attempt he was preparing to bring him assistance. To understand this important point of history, it is necessary to look a little back.

The Emperor Frederick II. had been heir to the pretensions of the imperial house of Suabia to both the Sicilies; in other words, to those territories now belonging to the kingdom of Naples. But over these kingdoms the Popes had always asserted a right of homage, similar to that which King John surrendered to the church in England. Upon the death of Frederick, these Italian and Sicilian dominions were usurped by his natural son, called Manfroy, to the prejudice of the emperor's nephew and lawful heir, a

youth named Conradin. Manfroy exercised with vigour the rights which he had so boldly assumed. To the real dominions of Naples and Sicily, he added a nominal claim over the kingdom of Jerusalem, though long since conquered by the Saracens. In assuming these titles, Manfroy, or Manfred, disowned all homage to the Pope; he even invaded the territories of the Church, when the pontiff disputed his title. Pope Urban, who then wore the mitre, together with Clement IV., his successor, who adhered to his policy, began successively to use their spiritual weapons. They excommunicated Manfroy, and were only at a loss upon whom to confer the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, of which they deprived him by the formal sentence of the church. This was a difficult question; for, though the Popes claimed the privilege of conferring the right where they pleased, it was necessary to choose a candidate strong enough to cope with Manfroy; and it was not easy to select such a one. In this uncertainty, the sovereignty was offered first

to one of Saint Louis's children, but declined by the good king, who could not think it consistent with morality to profit by a forfeiture, which, though declared by the voice of the Church, had not been incurred by the legal heir. Conradin's right, it was clear, could not therefore be affected by Manfred, an intruder, whose deeds could not prejudice the rights of his cousin. Accordingly, Louis declined to avail himself of the grant of the Pope in favour of any of his sons. The Pope next offered the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem to Edmund, son of the King of England. But although this prince went so far as to assume the title of king, his father, Henry III., was too much embarrassed with the wars of his barons at home, to admit of his son's finally accepting a donation which he could not have the means of supporting.

At length the Pope resolved to name as monarch of the Two Sicilies, and nominal King of Jerusalem, Charles, Count of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis, a man of a bold, and even ferocious character, one who would

act with sufficient vigour, and without embarrassing himself with any scruples, in defence of the right assigned him by the Pope. Saint Louis acquiesced in the nomination of his brother, though he had declined to profit by the grant to his sons. And although his royal brother was rather passive than active in his favour, the Count of Anjou was able to assemble an army competent to the enterprise. He marched into the Neapolitan territory, and engaged Manfroy in a pitched battle, fought near Beneventum, in which the latter lost his kingdom and his life.

A competitor for the kingdoms of the Sicilies now arose to reclaim the crown usurped by Manfroy. This was Conradin, nephew of the Emperor Frederick, and whose legal right of succession had been usurped by the late possessor. This young prince had little difficulty in assembling a strong party, consisting of the friends of the imperial faction, which in the beginning threatened to extinguish the rising power of Charles of Anjou. The valour, or the fortune, of the French

prince was, however, predominant once more. Conradin was defeated by Charles in a great battle, made prisoner, and, by an act of great injustice and cruelty, tried, and put to death upon a scaffold, for the prosecution of a claim of succession to which he was alike called by justice and by nature.

A.D. 1270. When, therefore, the rash expedition of Louis against Tunis took place, Charles, now King of Sicily, was eager in encouraging his brother to a war in which he thought less of the conquest of the Holy Land, than of subjecting Tunis to European dependence, and making it an appanage of his own kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

When the eighth crusade had nearly come to a melancholy termination, by the death of Louis and his two sons, Charles, King of the Sicilies, appeared before Tunis with a fleet loaded with provisions and reinforcements. As the fresh troops advanced to support the siege, the Arabs checked their approach by putting in motion the sands of the desert, which, driven by a violent wind upon

the strangers, prevented their attempts to march up to the attack of the place. Upon a second occasion of the same kind, however, the natives were less successful, being drawn into an ambuscade, where they suffered severely by the swords of the Europeans. The sultan began now to propose terms of submission, agreeing to pay a ransom to the King of the Sicilies of forty thousand crowns a-year —to defray the expense of the war—to allow the preaching of Christian priests, and the exercise of the Christian religion in his dominions, with some other concessions, which, excepting the payment of the money, were rather nominal than real. Notwithstanding these favourable conditions, the French and Sicilian monarchs were blamed by the voice of Christendom—Philip for impatience, and Charles for covetousness. Of all the princes in the crusade, Edward of England alone, afterwards the First of that name, and one of the most politic princes who ever lived, refused, as far as he was concerned, to consent to this treaty. He also professed his deter-

mination to proceed to Palestine, where Acre, the last of the fortresses which owned the Christian authority, was on the point of surrender to the infidels. "I will enter Acre," said young Edward, striking his breast, "though only Fowin, my groom, should follow me!" He went forward accordingly with his little band of English; but the feats which he performed were of small note, considering the personal qualities of the prince, and his expedition is chiefly famed for the romantic courage of his princess Eleanor, who attended him. This faithful and courageous lady is said to have sucked the wound which her husband received from an envenomed weapon, and to have thus endangered her own life to save his. After the treaty of Tunis had been concluded, the kings of France and Sicily returned to their dominions—Philip eager to take possession of the crown which had fallen to him by inheritance, Charles desirous to secure and to enjoy that which he had obtained by conquest.

Philip, the third of that name, called the

Hardy, seems to have been disposed to distinguish himself by enforcing the wise laws of King Louis, his father, for preventing private wars among his vassals. He had soon an opportunity to show this disposition, in pacifying a feud between the Count of Foix and the Lord of Casaubon. The latter had been assaulted by the powerful Count, notwithstanding he resided in a castle assigned him by the sovereign for his abode, and was under his express protection. The king, at the head of his royal forces, besieged the castle of Foix, compelled the Count to surrender, detained him a certain time in prison, and only dismissed him upon complete submission. The vigour of the government upon this occasion shows the permanent result of the just and firm conduct of Saint Louis. But the king's most remarkable adventures occurred in his own family, and were of a very distressing nature.

In his return through Italy, King Philip had the misfortune to lose his beautiful wife, Isabel, who had not hesitated to follow him to

the melancholy crusade in which the royal family sustained so much loss. In the course of this journey, this lady, being then near her confinement, was thrown from her horse in crossing a river, and died in consequence. Isabel, thus untimely cut off, left four sons; Louis, who died by poison; Philip, who reigned after his father; Charles of Valois, father of the branch from whom sprung the French kings of that house, and Robert, who died young.

After the king's return to France, the council remonstrated with him on the inexpediency of his remaining single, and he was induced to marry, as his second wife, Mary the daughter of Henry, the sixth Duke of Brabant. The life of this unfortunate princess was rendered melancholy, and that of her husband disturbed, by a strange succession of misfortunes, in consequence of the machinations of an unworthy favourite. Mary of Brabant bore a son the year after her marriage, and within six years afterwards, two daughters; a fair lineage, which

naturally confirmed the love which the king bore to her, as a beautiful and affectionate woman. But jealousy and discord were sown between them. The artificer of this mischief was Pierre de la Brosse; he was a person of low origin, and had appeared at court originally in the capacity of a barber. By this, however, we are not to infer the degree of ignorance or meanness which moderns annex to the word. A barber in those times received a medical education, and was in effect a surgeon, applying his skill to the cure of wounds, as well as to the arrangement of the beard and hair. Still, however, it was a menial office, and it was thought wonderful that such a man should rise to be a royal favourite. Upon the death of Saint Louis, Philip advanced La Brosse, who seems to have been a man of talent as well as art, to the rank of royal chamberlain, and employed him in the administration of some important affairs. He is said, as often happens with upstart favourites, to have abused the king's kindness, and betrayed his trust, using his favour as the means

of unjust oppression. A natural dislike arose between the queen, who thought her husband trusted too much to this unworthy man, and the favourite, who foresaw his own ruin in the predominant influence of the young princess. La Brosse, having once entertained this jealousy of the queen, is said to have taken every opportunity to prejudice Philip against her, by intimating, from time to time, that his consort was actuated by the general dislike against Philip's children by the former marriage, commonly imputed to stepmothers. The favourite caused it to be insinuated, from various quarters, into the king's private ear, that his wife often complained of her misfortune in bearing children who were destined to become the vassals of those of the first marriage, and that she said their case was the harder, if, though born when their father was upon the throne, they must necessarily be postponed to the children who came into the world when Philip was only a prince.

About this time, Louis, the king's eldest

son by his first marriage, Prince and heir of France, was seized suddenly by a malignant fever, which hurried him to his grave. The fatal disorder was attended with violent derangement in his stomach, livid spots upon his person, and other symptoms, which the age ascribed to poison. On these suspicious circumstances, La Brosse, who had the court filled with his relations and dependents, spread rumours tending to fix the crime upon Queen Mary, whom he had already loaded with calumnies to the same effect. The queen, on the contrary, accused La Brosse of having himself administered the poison to the young prince, with the purpose of charging it against her. The king, divided betwixt fondness for his wife, and habitual partiality for his favourite, did not well know, betwixt two averments both abhorrent to his imagination, which there was ground to believe. Perhaps, in so dark a transaction, we may be justified in believing that no crime at all was committed, and that what were considered as marks of

poison, were merely symptoms of a putrid fever. Such, however, is seldom the opinion of the public in any age, who are peculiarly addicted to assign remarkable and nefarious causes for the death of great persons.

The king, in his distress and perplexity, had recourse to a species of explanation suited only to an ignorant age. He dispatched the Bishop of Bayeux, and the Abbe of St Dennis, to visit a nun, or beguine, then at Nivelles, who was supposed to possess the gift of discovering by inspiration the most concealed transactions. The royal envoys were directed to consult, of course, with this great authority, and to learn from her the real particulars of the young prince's death. Her first confession, taken from her by the Bishop of Bayeux alone, seemed to criminate the queen. This was thought suspicious, because the bishop was a near connexion of La Brosse, and interested in deciding the dispute in his relation's favour. But whatever his secret bias was, the prelate refused to bring forward a charge founded

on what the nun had told him in confession. The prophetess herself seemed equally unwilling to speak plain. To a second enquiry by the Abbot of St Dennis, after that by the Bishop of Bayeux, she refused to answer; and the matter seemed to go against the queen. But in this uncertainty Philip deputed the Bishop of Dol, and Arnolph de Vismale, a knight Templar, who were considered as impartial persons, to examine the nun a second time. To these she frankly declared, that the king ought not to give any credit to such accusations as might be brought against his wife, since they all arose out of calumny.

At this time, John of Brabant came to the court of France, averring the innocence of his sister, Queen Mary, demanding that her honour should be fully cleared, and offering the combat to any who should impeach it. This accusation hastened La Brosse's ruin. The favourite was accused of having corresponded with the King of Castile, with whom Philip of France was then at war, and,

being found guilty of this crime, was sent to prison, disgraced, and afterwards ignominiously executed. The Duke of Brabant had gained credit for the part he had hitherto taken in his sister's favour; but when the French saw La Brosse executed without an open trial, and beheld the Duke of Brabant, and some lords of his party, attend upon the execution, with more personal feeling of vengeance than became their rank, the tide began to turn, and La Brosse was considered as having fallen a victim to the queen and her faction. Mary, however, long survived her husband, and was treated with the greatest respect by the family of his former wife, several of whom she beheld successively upon the throne.

The affairs of England, and of Italy, were the next objects of importance during Philip the Hardy's reign.

It was while this king filled the throne that the English began again to be heard of in France, having been long of little consequence there, owing to the violence of their

domestic feuds. Edward I. had long been busied in reducing his subjects of England to obedience, but, having perfectly succeeded, became now desirous of asserting his claim to such of the English territories in France as could yet be gathered out of the wreck of the forfeiture declared by Philip Augustus. For this purpose Edward resided three years in France, from June 1286, to August 1289. He rendered homage to Philip the Hardy, and transacted his affairs with great wisdom, honour, and success.

The bloody wars which long deluged Europe with slaughter, in order to decide the possession of Naples and Sicily, continued to agitate France during this reign. It is true, that Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, exercised, by commission from the Pope, the high offices of Vicar of the Empire, and Senator of Rome. He was also, besides being the actual reigning monarch of the Two Sicilies, invested with the nominal sovereignty of the kingdom of Jerusalem, upon the principle, it may be supposed, that he

who had obtained the substance, should also have the nominal possession of the shadow; for the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had ceased to exist. Notwithstanding these dignities, Charles of Anjou did not, by any means, sit secure on his throne. He had involved himself imprudently with the Church, to which he owed his kingdom originally. Pope Nicolas, who bore much ill will towards Charles, deprived him of the office of Vicar of the Empire, and the dignity of Roman Senator, in the hope, it is supposed, of provoking him to some act which might give the Holy See a pretence for depriving him of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which she had bestowed.

The vices of that prince were yet more hurtful to him than the displeasure of the Pope; and the luxury, insolence, and cruelty, by which his French troops provoked the general resentment of the Sicilians, were still more fatal to his cause. A rival soon arose when his reign became unpopular. The imperialists still retained a strong party among

the Sicilians. Don Pedro, King of Arragon—who had married the daughter of Manfroy, defeated and slain by Charles of Anjou—now claimed the kingdom of Sicily in the right of his wife, and threatened to reconquer it from the French. The passions of the inhabitants seconded, in an extraordinary manner, the pretensions of Don Pedro. Incensed at the liberties which the French unceremoniously took with the females of their families, the Sicilians formed a scheme of insurrection against these petulant and insolent strangers, equally remarkable for its extent, the secrecy with which it was carried on, and the number of Frenchmen who perished.

This was the famous insurrection, known by the name of the Sicilian Vespers. The plot bore, that, at the tolling of the evening bell for prayers, on Easterday, 1282, the islanders should rush suddenly upon the French strangers, and put them to death without exception. This plot was contrived with such surprising secrecy and unanimity, A.D. 1282.

and executed with such general fury, that in less than two hours a general massacre had taken place, of all the French, whatever their age, sex, or condition. Monks put to death their brethren; priests slew each other upon the very altar; fathers killed their daughters, who had been married to strangers, and every other horror took place, which could be practised by a vindictive nation, assuming at once the trade of assassins.

This massacre, intended to be decisive of the controversy between Anjou and Arragon, was, like many other great historical crimes, disappointing in its results. The kingdom of France was thrilled with horror, but at the same time seized with a thirst of revenge for so general and dreadful an assassination. Numbers of the best warriors in that kingdom offered their services to Charles of Anjou, to avenge the death of their murdered countrymen. Pedro of Arragon, finding his adherents unable to cope with the high-famed French chivalry, was reduced to evade the combat, by a device, the issue of

which considerably hurt his reputation. In order to get rid of the pressure of the French force in Sicily, and to avoid the necessity of encountering the numerous and excellent forces which had come to espouse the French cause, Pedro dispatched a challenge to Charles of Anjou, defying him to meet him with a hundred knights, and decide their differences by the issue of that encounter. Bourdeaux, as a neutral territory, was assigned as the place of combat. Charles, who was by no means deficient in personal courage, immediately accepted the defiance, and went to the place appointed with his hundred attendants. In this he acted imprudently, considering that, by prosecuting the advantages he possessed, he might have made himself master of Sicily, which was the object of contention; an opportunity which was lost by his departure for Bourdeaux. Neither did Pedro ever mean actually to encounter him and his knights, as his challenge implied. He indeed kept his appointment; but he appeared in disguise, and

avoided the combat, alleging, that, as Philip, King of France, was present in Bourdeaux at the time, and was lord paramount of the town, it was no longer an equal place of meeting, for a prince who came to fight with that king's uncle. Accordingly, he left the place with little honour; for, as Philip had few or no soldiers along with him, the seneschal of the King of England, who was actually commandant of the place, was sufficiently strong to have afforded a fair field of combat, both to French and Spaniards. But Pedro obtained his object, which was the opportunity to prosecute the war in Sicily, with a better chance of success than when he had Charles for an opponent.

Charles of Anjou had left in Sicily his son, a high-spirited young man, called Charles the Lame, from an accident which had befallen him in youth. He was commissioned to command as regent during his father's absence. This youth, although warned by his father to act upon the defensive, rashly encountered the fleet of Arragon, commanded by the fa-

mous Andrew Doria, the ally of Don Pedro. Charles the Lame was defeated and taken by this celebrated mariner, and his father, after at first seeming to support the calamity with firmness, gave way to grief, and died at sixty-six years of age.

In the meantime, the King of France, to whom the Pope, according to his custom of dealing kingdoms at pleasure, had assigned that of Arragon, transferable to any of his sons whom he should name, conveyed the right thus vested in him to his third son, Charles of Valois, and prepared, with a strong army and navy, to put him in possession of his new dominions.

With this purpose, Philip the Hardy invaded Catalonia, and besieged Gerona. Pedro of Arragon came to its relief, with a small and flying army. Rollo of Nesle, Constable of France, drew the Spanish prince into an ambuscade, by showing only a small part of his forces. In this skirmish, Pedro had his face torn by the thrust of a lance, was nearly made prisoner, and obliged to cut the

reins of his horse, in order to escape the grasp of a French man-at-arms. He escaped from the field, but died in consequence of the wound, and the fever which ensued. This success was, however, overbalanced by an advantage obtained by Doria, who was still at sea, over the French fleet. Many of Philip's vessels were sunk and destroyed; and as these were loaded with provisions for the use of the army besieging Gerona, the sufferings of the French, arising from the loss, became so extreme, that it was impossible for them to remain longer before the place. The siege was therefore raised, and the king, whose hopes were thus disappointed, withdrew to Perpignan, where he shortly after died of chagrin for the miscarriage of an undertaking which commenced so prosperously. This prince, although not a man of shining talent, bears, nevertheless, a fair character in the French annals, and is said to have been particularly scrupulous in the mode of raising the revenue from his people, who never complained of the sums exacted,

as they were levied with so much fairness and attention to the convenience of the indigent. It is impossible now to discover from what circumstance Philip derived his epithet of Hardy, as we are not aware of his having shown great personal courage. He displayed no high or distinguished qualities, a deficiency which was atoned for by his character being marked by none that were wicked or dangerous.

CHAP. V.

Accession of Philip the Fair—Claim of England to the Province of Xaintonge—War between France and England—Edward I. prevented by his Scottish Wars from carrying it on with vigour—Confederacy of Continental Princes against Philip, instigated by Edward—Peace and mutual Alliance between France and England—Philip's Quarrel with Pope Boniface—his good understanding with the two succeeding Popes, who fix their Residence at Avignon—Contest with Flanders—Dissolution of the Order of Knights of the Temple—Death of Philip the Fair, and Accession of Louis Hutin—Execution of Marrigny, the Favourite of the deceased Monarch, for alleged Embezzlement and Sorcery—Marriage and Death of Louis Hutin—Accession of Philip the Long, by virtue of the Salic Law, which excluded his Niece, the Princess Joan, daughter of Louis Hutin—Massacre of Jews and Lepers, in consequence

of a suspicion that they had caused an Epidemic Disease throughout France, by poisoning the Wells—Death of Philip, and Accession of his Brother, Charles the Fair—Charles summons Edward II. to do Homage for his French Possessions—Investiture granted to the Prince of Wales, instead of his Father—Intrigues of Edward's Queen, Isabel, at the French Court—Death of Charles the Fair, with whom became extinct the Descendants in the First Line of Hugo Capet.

PHILIP IV., who succeeded his father, was surnamed *Le Bel*, or the Fair, from the beauty of his countenance, and the majesty of his person. He was married to Joan, who was Queen of Navarre, as well as Countess of Champagne and Brie.

This prince's entrance on life took place at great disadvantage. His father had left an exhausted exchequer, and a ruinous and unsuccessful war undertaken with Spain, to vindicate the rights of his nephew, son of his sister Blanche, Queen of Castile, and to conquer the kingdom of Arragon, for Charles

of Valois. Edward I., too, was now beginning to bestir himself in France, and perplexed the French king by a demand of the territory of Xaintonge, a district adjacent to the English possessions in Guienne. In this important matter, Philip, after examining the ancient treaties between the kingdoms, saw the necessity of acquiescing, and Edward became a party to a negotiation by which the quarrel with Castile was in some degree accommodated, and the peace of Europe in a great measure restored.

But in consequence of an accidental quarrel between a Norman and a Gascon sailor, which led to a battle betwixt their two vessels, that moderation which the young King of France had hitherto exhibited, seemed to be exchanged for hasty resentment, and a determination to proceed to extremities.

Upon this accidental provocation, and in resentment of the injury offered to his flag, the King of France issued a summons, commanding Edward, as a peer of France, to appear before the French parliament, under

pain of forfeiting his fiefs in that kingdom. Edward, though offended at such peremptory conduct, was desirous to avoid a rupture. He offered, with exemplary temperance, to yield to the French six castles which he held in Guienne, by way of security that he would submit to make amends, should he be found ultimately in the wrong, and also as pledges that he would meet with the King of France, and discuss their difference in an amicable conference. At the same time, Edward stipulated that the summons, a proceeding offensive to his dignity, should be withdrawn. Philip having solemnly agreed to this arrangement, broke through it nevertheless in a faithless manner. He took possession of the six fortresses, but only made use of them to facilitate the conquest of the English province of Gascony, for which purpose he marched an army under the High Constable into that territory. A French fleet and flying army was even employed to attack the coasts of England, by which Dover was burnt, and Kent invaded.

Notwithstanding these provocations, which were not to be endured by a monarch of Edward's temper, the King of England was extremely unwilling to engage in a war with France at this moment. He had been anxiously employed during the last years of the thirteenth century, in the unjust attempt to possess himself of the sovereignty of Scotland; in which he seemed often almost successful, but could never become completely so. Indeed, divided and dispirited as the kingdom then was, nothing was more easy than to overpower the Scots in the field; and yet such was the obstinacy of their resistance, that within a month or two after their subjugation appeared to be complete, the natives of this pertinacious country were again in arms. It would well have suited the policy of Edward to have postponed all other wars, until he had completed the conquest of Scotland, and for this purpose he was loath to accept of the various provocations which France seemed studiously to offer to him. Nevertheless, as King of England, he could

not, without dishonour, submit to the affront of being summoned before the French Parliament, and he was also nettled at the unworthy manner in which he had been cheated in the matter of Guienne, and at the loss he had sustained in that province. He therefore returned an answer of defiance to the King of France, and he sent a small army, under his brother Edmund, to protract the war in France, at as little risk as might be, while he himself marched into Scotland, to finish his conquest of that country.

It may be here remarked, first, That the grievances which Edward I. inflicted on Scotland, and by which he hoped to compel the people to rebellion, so as to form an excuse for confiscating and depriving of his kingdom, John Baliol, a monarch of his own creating, were very closely allied to the indignities which he himself experienced from the King of France, and to which he was personally so sensitive. Therefore the monarch, who exercised the same feudal tyranny towards others, his own dependents, could not

with justice complain of similar usage from his own lord paramount.

To understand this, you must remember, that, by unfairly availing himself of the trust reposed in him by the Scots, who chose him to be umpire for deciding the succession to their crown, Edward I. had assumed to himself, on very iniquitous grounds, the right and dignity of lord paramount of Scotland. Invested thus, though by no fair means, with the right of supremacy over that kingdom, Edward's next step was to summon John Baliol, the shadow whom he had set up as king, to attend and answer the complaints of the most insignificant persons who chose to bring an appeal from his decisions to the English courts of law in Westminster. Edward's object in this injurious conduct, was undoubtedly to mortify the pride of the Scots and of their king, and to seek an opportunity of declaring, as he afterwards did, that the kingdom of Scotland was forfeited to himself.

Now, this was exactly, though in a less flagrant degree, the conduct of the King of

France towards Edward himself, when he summoned him to attend before a court of French peers, and give satisfaction for a brawl which had taken place between a Gascon and a Norman vessel. It is no wonder, therefore, that Edward rather chose to stifle the debate, by the surrender of the six forts in Guienne, than to fix the attention of the world upon the very different manner in which he judged of such treatment, when applied to himself, compared with that in which he chose to consider it, when used by him towards the King of Scotland.

It is also worthy of observation, that although the Scottish historians, in their zeal for their national antiquity, have pretended that a league existed between a Scottish king, whom they call Achaius, and the Emperor Charlemagne, as early as the year 779, and even affirm that the emperor bestowed upon the northern prince a tressure of fleurs-de-lis, as an augmentation of arms, it is yet easy to demonstrate that there were no armorial bearings till many centuries after Charle-

magne, and that the intimate league between France and Scotland did not exist, until the circumstances of both countries recommended mutual support and good understanding betwixt them, as a matter alike politic and necessary. We shall hereafter see that the Scottish alliance was of considerably more importance to France, than that of France was to Scotland. It was certainly renewed during the reign of Philip the Fair.

To return to the general subject. Edward I. was induced to trust to some future favourable opportunity the prosecution of his revenge against France, into which he did not think it politic, or find it possible, to lead a large army, while embarrassed with the Scottish campaigns. In the month of August, 1297, however, it seemed to him that Scotland was so effectually pacified, as to permit a great effort for the chastisement of France. For this object, Edward trusted less to his own forces, though he transported to Flanders a gallant army of English, than to a general confederacy which he formed

with several princes, on the same plan with the alliance so abruptly dissolved by Philip Augustus at the battle of Bouvines. The allies, too, were nearly the same persons, being the Emperor of Germany, the Dukes of Austria and Brabant, the Earl of Flanders, and other German and Flemish princes, who engaged, for considerable sums of money to be paid by the King of England, to assemble a combined army for the invasion of France.

Philip, who beheld himself threatened by a formidable confederacy, contrived to break up the alliance by the distribution of large sums among its members. Against Guy de la Dampierre alone, the aged Earl of Flanders, that king retained an embittered and vindictive spirit, and when the other princes had, in a great measure, been induced to abandon the confederacy by intrigues and gratuities, Philip moved against that prince with a predominant force. At the same time, he put in motion the numerous malecontents whom he had found in the great towns of Flanders,

the inhabitants of which were extremely mutinous, and disposed to insurrection. By the accumulated weight of foreign invasion and domestic insurrection, the earl was likely to be totally ruined, had not Edward of England moved to his assistance with a fleet and army, and saved him from the revenge of France.

No battle of consequence, however, ensued. Edward was disgusted with the great expense which he had bestowed, to no purpose, upon his German confederates; and Philip, who had encountered more difficulties than he had expected in his campaign in Flanders, was also desirous of accommodation. A mutual friend to both monarchs offered his services as mediator. This was Charles, King of Sicily, called Charles the Lame. He was cousin german to the King of France, being son of his uncle, Charles of Anjou. To Edward he was bound by an important obligation. Charles had been taken, as we have said, by Andrew Doria, in a naval engagement, in which the Arragon

party were victorious. The victors manifested a strong inclination to put the captive prince to death, in their desire to revenge the execution of Conrade II. by his father. But Edward I. who entertained a personal friendship for this prince, prevailed upon his captors to ransom him, and furnished the greater part of the money which was demanded upon the occasion. Thus was Charles the Lame well suited for a mediator between France and England, in which he made considerable progress, although the office was afterwards transferred to the reigning Pope, whose feelings towards France were not of the most amicable character.

Boniface was at this time at the head of the church, and he had, some considerable time before, entered into a quarrel with Philip the Fair, respecting various extravagant claims which the Pope had preferred over the French king and his territories. The particulars of this feud between the most Christian King and the Church, is too long and too confused to be entered into in

this place; but it terminated in an unusual manner, considering how successful the Church had hitherto been in its most extravagant demands. The Pope was admitted as mediator, instead of the King of Sicily, and discharged his duty as umpire with considerable fairness. Notwithstanding which, the two kings took the wise resolution of settling their differences by a definitive treaty; because, from the grasping temper of Boniface, he was the object of suspicion to them both. Matters were accordingly brought to a settlement. Edward made his homage for
A.D. 1307. Gascony, and France and England entered into a mutual alliance against any one who should disturb the one king or the other in their rights, franchises, and freedoms, by which agreement, the probability of a quarrel with their mediator the Pope was intimated.

Boniface resumed his attacks against Philip. He attempted to fix upon him a certain Bernard Laiseti, for whom, without the king's consent, he had created a bishopric. He sent this man to Philip in the cha-

racter of a legate, who, in requital, turned him out of his dominions. The Pope next convened a council at Rome, at which several of the French clergy attended. Matters were thus brought to extremity. In a word, Boniface had already made public his determination to excommunicate the King of France, and indeed the bull was ready prepared for that purpose. Among other extreme measures to avert this sentence, Philip sent into Italy two determined agents, who, having levied a strong body of partisans, seized upon the person of the Pope, then residing at his native town in Tuscany, insulted, even buffeted him, and had very near slain him, had not his Holiness, after two or three days' confinement, been rescued by a party of the people, and conveyed in safety to Rome. Here the disgrace which he had undergone had such an effect upon his spirits, that he died furiously mad, after having failed in extending the authority of the Church, in the way he meditated, and after having been obliged to submit to the encroachments, as he termed

them, of the secular power. Thus died a Pontiff, of whom it is said, that he entered the church like a fox, ruled it like a lion, and died like a dog.

King Philip the Fair, after having been thus freed of his bitter opponent, Pope Boniface, took especial care to establish a close and powerful interest with the two succeeding popes, and endeavoured, indeed, by every means in his power, to cultivate the favour of the papal see, and even to prevail on these supreme Pontiffs to shift their residence from Italy to France, in which he so far prevailed, as to induce them to reside at Avignon. In this manner did Philip obtain absolution from the sentence of excommunication pronounced by Boniface, and re-establish a friendly intercourse with the head of the church.

This king was also engaged in a violent contest with the people of Flanders, which fief he was bent upon reuniting with the French empire. This was partly owing to his unabated hatred to his old vassal in that

fief, Pierre de la Dampierre, whom he pressed so hard, that the count was under the necessity of submitting to his mercy.

But although the French gained great successes, and obtained possession of many towns in Flanders, they did not fail to drive the Flemings, as they had done the Sicilians, into rebellion against their new rulers, and great part of that populous nation, although at first favourable to the invaders, was soon in insurrection against them. Three sons of Count Pierre de la Dampierre put themselves at the head of the insurgents. They fought a great battle with the French, in which the Flemings were in the beginning successful. King Philip escaped with difficulty from the fury of the first attack, in which the enemy penetrated to his tent; but the fidelity of the French chivalry, who rallied at the cry of the king being in danger, restored the battle, and the Flemings were finally defeated with prodigious slaughter. Notwithstanding the brilliancy of this victory, Philip was only disposed to regard it

as a foundation for peace. The young princes of Flanders were still at the head of a numerous, though undisciplined army, and it might have been hazardous to drive to desperation so formidable an enemy. The eldest of the sons of Count Pierre was then admitted to do homage for the county of Flanders, and, on condition of paying a considerable sum, established his peace with the king.

In 1310, there occurred an important historical transaction, respecting which it is difficult to form a candid judgment. I have told you that there existed two great fraternities of military monks, both of which were formed in the Holy Land. The one had for its object the defence of the Temple; the other was associated as Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St John; and both held out as their principal object the defence of Palestine against the infidels. Both these communities, but in a particular degree the Templars, fell under public obloquy, on account of the immense wealth which was

acquired by the order, and the lax morals of individual members. To drink like a Templar, became a common phrase; and their public licentiousness, as well as the charges imputed to them of considering less the benefit of Christians in general, and the defence of Palestine and of Jerusalem, than the aggrandizement of their own institution, were the general subjects of clamour against them. The association of the Temple, however, was destined to fall under darker and blacker accusations than affected the morals of individual knights, or the ambition of the order in general.

While these knights were the universal object of envy to the nobles, on account of their wealth, and odium to the poor, on account of their license, a singular incident brought their fate to a crisis. Two brethren of the order of the Temple had been condemned by their Grand Master, or President, to perpetual imprisonment. These criminals, desperate at this rigorous sentence, intimated, that, if released from imprison-

ment, they could disclose to the French government circumstances concerning their order of a mysterious and highly criminal nature. These men being examined accordingly, declared, before persons authorized to take their evidence, that the secret rules of the order of the Temple were entirely contrary to the Christian religion, as well as to decency and morality. This extraordinary accusation bore that the Templars commenced their initiation by the most blasphemous and disgusting professions, and by ceremonies so infamous in character, that human nature cannot readily allow the possibility of their being adopted by an association consisting of men of rank, engaged ostensibly in a religious fraternity. One hundred and forty knights were arrested at once within the kingdom of France, and great part of them seem to have confessed charges similar to those averred by the knights who lodged the original accusation. To these confessions, considering when and how they were obtained, we can attach little

credit, as we know that solitude and torture have made accused individuals confess (as in charges of witchcraft) things not only improbable, but altogether impossible.

But besides the above consideration, a very considerable number of those imprisoned Templars averred their innocence firmly. They said, that their confessing brethren had been seduced to their admissions by the promise of life and liberty; and they themselves denied strongly whatever charges were brought against them of an atrocious character. "We are but men," they said, "and have our failings as such; but, to be guilty of the wickedness imputed to us, we must be incarnate fiends."

The Pope himself held a council on this very dubious affair, in which the dissolution of the order was finally resolved upon all over Europe, although it was only in France that the Templars suffered condemnation and punishment. Fifty or sixty of them were put to death, maintaining their innocence with their last breath, and citing their persecutors

to answer before God for the cruelties unjustly exercised upon them. Jaques de Molai, Grand Master of the order, with two of its other principal officers, were brought before the King of France and the Pope, and examined on the several points of the charge. At first, they admitted some part of the accusation against them, and denied others; upon which partial confession they were condemned to be burnt to death by a slow fire. When brought to execution, after retracting what they had formerly uttered, they declared, like the rest who were executed, that they had individually committed sins incident to mortals, but that their order had never been stained by any such iniquities as had been alleged against them.

Indeed, when we consider the whole of this extraordinary charge, and recollect that the Templars, as an order, were extremely rich, that they had fallen into public odium, and had shown themselves unequal to the defence of the Temple, for which purpose they were associated, it may be suspected

that we see, in these circumstances alone, the grand causes of their destruction, and that the other gross accusations preferred against them, if not entirely false, were at least framed upon the crimes of some individuals only.

The procedure against this celebrated society added considerably to the odium with which the latter days of Philip the Fair were overclouded. His Flemish wars had exhausted his revenues, and vexed his people with extraordinary impositions. His dissensions with Pope Boniface, the violence which he authorized towards that Pope, above all the exactions which he made upon the clergy, caused him to be held in horror by all strict Catholics. The ruin of the Templars was imputed to his avarice and injustice. While he was thus loaded with unpopularity from different causes, a domestic affront seems to to have affected him deeply.

Philip's three sons were all married to princesses of suitable birth; but the morals of the whole were so doubtful, that each of the

three princes accused his wife of adultery. Joan, wife of Philip, Count of Poitou, the second of the royal brethren, was the only one of the three princesses acquitted of the charge. Margaret, wife of Louis the eldest, and Blanche, wedded to the youngest, of the sons of Philip, were found guilty, and condemned to perpetual confinement in the fortress of Chastel Gaillard. Two knights, the partners of their crimes, were put to death with horrible tortures.

This shameful incident, and the disgrace which attended it, sunk deep into the heart of Philip the Fair. The king, at the same time, saw that the public dissatisfaction would render it difficult, or impossible, to raise funds for reviving the war in Flanders, upon which he was determined, assigning for a reason, that he had never received the money which the young count engaged to pay on the conclusion of the former peace. The count, on the contrary, alleged he had paid the subsidies regularly to the king's favourite courtier, named Enguerraud de Marrigny.

The terrors, therefore, of a war for which no funds could be provided, and which was particularly unpopular in France, added to the king's embarrassment. His spirit sunk beneath such a load of evils and disgrace; he took to bed without any formal complaint, and died of the cruel disease which carried off some of his predecessors, viz. a deep melancholy. On his deathbed, the dying monarch expressed great apprehension lest the imposts which he had laid upon his people should be the cause of his suffering punishment in the next world, and conjured his children to diminish or discharge them—a late act of penitence, to which much credit is not rashly to be given.

Philip the Fair left behind three sons, Louis, Philip, and Charles, each of whom mounted the throne in their turn, but all died without issue. Of two daughters of the same king, one died unmarried, the other, Isabel, was wedded to Edward, Prince of Wales, son to Edward I., who afterwards reigned as Edward II. It was upon the extinction of the

male Keirs of Philip the Fair, that the kings of England laid claim to the inheritance of France, in contradiction to the Salic law, and in right of this same Isabel's succession to her father.

Louis X., whom, for some uncertain reason, the French called Hutin, (or the Mutinous,) next ascended the throne. The first point he had to consider was the bringing to account the favourite of the deceased monarch, Enguerraud de Marrigny, who had been the agent of Philip's exactions, and was supposed to have peculated enormously, as the money passed through his hands. Called before the princes of the blood, and closely interrogated by the brother of the late king, Charles, Count of Valois, in particular, who, in fact, governed in the name of his nephew, the accused party answered with great insolence.

"Where," said the Count de Valois, "are the treasures of the late king?"

"You shall have a good account of them," answered the prisoner, haughtily.

"Give it me, then, on the spot," answered the prince.

"Since you press me to speak," replied Marrigny, "I have given you one half of the treasure of the late king, your brother, and, with the other half, I have paid his majesty's debts."

"You lie," replied the prince, in a rage.

"You lie, yourself," replied Marrigny.

In consequence of this intemperate and insulting conduct, the fallen favourite was arrested, thrown into prison, and brought to trial, when he was charged with embezzlement of the royal revenue, and with the abuse of his late master's favour. The new king was present at this trial, and looked on the accused with more compassion than his uncle and brothers showed towards him. As the princes of the blood perceived the king's intention to screen Marrigny, at least from a capital sentence, they mixed up with the other crimes of which he was accused, a charge that his wife had trafficked with a sorcerer, and an old woman, deemed a witch, for the purpose

of making waxen images resembling the king and princes, which, being dissolved at a slow fire, the strength and substance of those they represented were expected to decay in proportion. The king, believing in a practice which was at that time an object of general credulity, was startled at the accusation, gave up Marrigny to the vengeance of his uncle the Count de Valois, and the unfortunate favourite was hanged accordingly. The sorcerer and the witch were also put to death, and the wife of Marrigny was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. It was much doubted whether the crimes of Marrigny deserved quite so severe a fate; and it is certain that the aggravation which induced the king to consent to his death, was entirely visionary. Charles, Count of Valois, himself repented of the persevering cruelty with which he had pressed the conviction of this person; and when he was struck with a fit of the palsy, imputed the infliction to the vengeance of Heaven for Marrigny's death. On his deathbed, he bequeathed consider-

able sums to purchase the prayers of the church for the pardon of Marrigny's sins, as well as his own.

In the meantime, Louis Hutin arranged a marriage for himself with Clementia, or Clemence, daughter of Charles Martel, King of Hungary, whom he selected, to replace the criminal and unfortunate Margaret, imprisoned in Chastel Gaillard, as we have already seen. The existence of this last unfortunate lady was, however, still an obstacle to her husband's contracting a second union. Louis Hutin removed it by an act of violence. The unfortunate Margaret was strangled with the sheets of her bed, that her husband might be at liberty to wed Clemence of Hungary, a match which took place immediately on her execution, or murder—for so a vengeance so long deferred, might be most justly termed. The king and queen were crowned at Rheims, when it was with difficulty that, by the assistance of the wealth found in the coffers of Marrigny, and confis- A.D. 1315.

cated to the state, the necessary expenses of the coronation were defrayed.

The new-married couple had not passed many months together, when they were disturbed by the voice of war. The same Count Robert of Flanders, who had been so troublesome to Philip the Fair, was still in insurrection, and it was necessary to go to war with him, although the public finances were in bad order, and totally inadequate to the services of the state. The king also felt all those inconveniences which crowd upon a sovereign when his exchequer is exhausted. When he demanded supplies, his subjects took the opportunity of insisting upon their privileges, real and pretended. The young king was much embarrassed, but he was not destined
A.D. long to remain so. He died in 1316, the year
1316. after his marriage, and the first of his reign. The fate of the kingdom remained suspended until time should show whether a son or a daughter should be the produce of the confinement of Clementia, his queen, which

event was expected in four months after the death of Louis.

Philip of Poitou, the second brother of the deceased monarch, was unquestionably entitled to be declared regent, being, in fact, the next heir to the crown, if the queen should not be delivered of a surviving son. Nevertheless, Charles of Valois, uncle to Louis Hutin, made an attempt to supersede his nephew, but the Parliament adjudged the regency to Philip, who came speedily to Paris, and assumed the office of guardian of the young prince and regent of the kingdom, while awaiting the event of the queen's confinement.

This took place November 14, 1316, when Clemence was delivered of a boy, who did not survive above eight days, injured, as was thought, by the excess of his mother's sorrow for the husband of whom she had been so suddenly and prematurely deprived. A.D. 1316.

Philip, the brother of Louis Hutin, therefore, was transformed from regent into king, and was consecrated the twelfth day after

his nephew's death. It was not, however, without opposition, of which it is necessary to explain the cause, as it concerns a remarkable point of French history.

You cannot have forgotten that the tribes, of which the Frank, or French nation, consisted, had their principal territories upon the Rhine and the Saale. From the latter tribe, comes the term of the Salic law, an enactment current among the early tribes who dwelt on that river. However extensive in its original sense, the Salic law has long denoted that rule of inheritance which excludes a female, or any other person whose connexion with the blood royal cannot be traced without the intervention of a female link, from the possibility of succeeding to the crown of France, in any case. This law is understood to have applied to the Merovingian and Carlovingian, and Capetian dynasties. The dignity of king, said the French jurists, with all the assumption of masculine arrogance, was of too much dignity to pass either to, by, or through, the

distaff. The exclusion, whether reasonable or otherwise, was strictly observed in the early ages of the monarchy.

From the accession of Hugo Capet, in 987, to the death of the infant and posthumous son of Louis Hutin, in 1316, the crown had regularly descended from father to son; thirteen generations having successively possessed it during the space of three hundred and twenty-nine years, without a single instance of collateral succession. The Salic law, therefore, had, during this long period, remained, as it is termed, in abeyance, there having occurred no opportunity of putting it in force. It seems, therefore, to have been partly forgotten, since the Duke of Burgundy, and the Count of Valois, with a considerable party, were disposed to dispute the claim which Philip V., called, from his stature, the Long, made to the crown. These princes contended, that, since the late king, Louis Hutin, had left behind him a daughter, Joan, she must be considered as the heir of her short-

lived brother; an axiom which, if allowed, closed the succession against Philip the Long.

This important matter was referred to the States-General, who, having maturely considered so important a question, finally decreed, that the Salic law and custom, inviolably observed in the French nation, excluded females from the throne; and the right of Philip was universally acknowledged accordingly, in preference to that of the Princess Joan. The new sovereign extended his influence among the nobility, by bestowing among them, in marriage, four daughters, to whom he gave considerable appanages, and thereby attached them to his interest. One of the persons whose friendship he acquired in this manner, was Louis of Flanders, whose family had given so much trouble to Philip the Fair, and had threatened the short reign of Louis Hutin. This might be accounted a considerable stroke of state policy, as the young Louis was next heir to the reigning count, his grandfather, who was an aged man. Philip the Long also renewed the league

with Scotland, and transacted his affairs upon equal terms with Edward II. of England, who was his brother-in-law.

But, though prudent and politic upon the whole, King Philip the Long, in one particular, gave great dissatisfaction to his people, viz., in the eagerness which he showed to collect large sums of revenue, and his haste to restore the obnoxious imposts which had been discontinued by his predecessor. It must be allowed that this was neither from a disposition to extravagance nor to avarice, either of which it might be supposed to have indicated. But, like his great ancestor, Saint Louis, Philip the Long unhappily conceived himself bound to undertake a crusade so soon as ever opportunity should permit; and it was with this view that he made a great collection of treasure, in the hope of removing some of the obstacles which had proved so fatal to his ancestors, who meditated the same project.

A wild inclination towards these perilous expeditions seemed at this time to pervade

all Europe. The common people of France, in particular, were stirred up by ignorant friars and enthusiasts, who pretended to have discovered by inspiration that it was the divine will to rescue Palestine from the infidels, not by means of the great and powerful of the world, but by shepherds and peasants. This doctrine becoming general, bands of the most low and ignorant persons enrolled themselves under various leaders, and traversed the country under the name of Pastoraux. They were not long thus embodied without discovering there was business to do in behalf of Christianity, without going so far as the Holy Land.

The Jews, who had been persecuted and banished from France by Philip the Fair, and restored by his successor, as necessary to the existence of the state, once again became the objects of popular hatred, not only on account of their religion, and because their wealth rendered them the ready objects of plunder, but also from a new accusation, which so ignorant an age alone would have

listened to. A pestilential or epidemic disease was at this time scourging France, where bad living and dearth of provisions rendered such infectious disorders very fatal. To account for the present pestilence, it was said that the Jews had accepted a bribe from the Mahometan princes, and had undertaken to poison all wells, fountains, and rivers. The charge of participation in this crime was extended to a set of unfortunate wretches, who were rather the objects of disgust than of compassion. Those afflicted with the leprosy, who were obliged to live in hospitals apart from the rest of mankind, were stated to have joined with the Jews in the iniquitous project of poisoning the waters of the kingdom. It was an accusation easily understood, and greedily swallowed, by the vulgar. The populace of course, being already in arms, turned them against the Jews and the lepers, considering both as a species of wretched outcasts, whose sufferings ought to interest no healthy Christian. Without any formality, or trial, or otherwise, these ignorant fanatics

seized upon great numbers both of the Jews and of the lepers, and tore them to pieces, or burnt them alive without scruple.

The Jews, though of late years they may be considered as an unwarlike people, have always been remarkable for the obstinacy of their temper, and for their opposing to popular fury a power of endurance which has often struck even their oppressors with horror. Five hundred of these men, upon the present occasion, defended a castle into which they had thrown themselves, with stones, arrows, javelins, and other missiles, till, having no other weapons left, they launched the persons of their living children from the walls on the heads of their assailants, and finally put each other to the sword, rather than die by the hands of the multitude.

At Vitri, also, fifty Jews distinguished themselves by a similar act of horrible despair. They chose with composure two of their number, a young woman and an old man, who received the charge to put the rest of their company to death. Those intrust-

ed with the execution of this fearful duty, executed their instructions without dispute or resistance on the part of the sufferers. When the others were all slain, the old man next received his death at the hand of the female, and to close the tragedy, this last either fell or threw herself from the walls of the place; but having broken her thigh-bone in the fall, she was plunged by the besiegers alive into the fire which consumed the dead bodies.

The king himself was obliged to submit to the popular prejudice. He once more banished the Jews, and by a proclamation confined the lepers to their respective hospitals, under the penalty of being burnt alive. The royal troops were next employed with success in putting down the Pastoraux, and other tumultuous assemblies of fanatical banditti, and restoring the peace of the kingdom.

Shortly after, King Philip the Long died, A.D. 1321. after a reign of five years, in 1321. As was frequently the case on the demise of great persons in that age, his death was strongly

suspected of being caused by poison. He was, upon the whole, a well-meaning king; and the love of money which he had at first testified, was atoned for by an edict, near the close of his reign, dispensing with the imposts upon the people, and by a meritorious attempt to reduce the coins, and the weights and measures, throughout all France, to some uniform standard, a matter of great importance to commercial intercourse.

A.D. 1321. Philip the Long was succeeded by his brother, Charles the Fair; the Salic law having its full force in his behalf as heir-male, and his right being admitted, to the exclusion of the daughters of the deceased Philip the Long, and, in particular, the Duchess of Burgundy, who was the eldest of these princesses. Charles the Fair, being thus placed on the throne, became desirous to get rid of his wife Blanche, who remained still a prisoner, on account of her infidelity.

He did not on this occasion proceed to the extremities adopted by his eldest brother, Louis Hutin, who, in similar circumstances,

had the frail and unfortunate Margaret strangled, but contented himself with obtaining a sentence of divorce from Rome, upon the old pretence that Blanche and he were related within the forbidden degrees. The supposed connexion was even more flimsy than usual, being only of a spiritual nature, the mother of Blanche, having, it seems, been godmother to the king. It was better, however, to be divorced as the daughter of her husband's godmother, than to be strangled with a pair of sheets. The discarded princess covered her disgrace by taking the veil in the Abbey of Maubuisson.

In room of this lady, Charles espoused Margaret, daughter of Henry of Luxembourg, seventh Emperor of Germany of that name. But no good fortune attended the marriages of this race; Queen Margaret was killed by the overturn of her chariot, an accident which proved fatal to her and to an unborn male infant.

As his third wife, Charles the Fair married with dispensation a cousin of his own,

who survived him many years, but produced no family save daughters.

Charles the Fair began his reign by two remarkable punishments. Among the other chiefs of independent armed companies who were the pest of France, one Jourdain de Lisle was brought to his deserved sentence, and capitally executed, although a nephew of the reigning Pope. Besides having committed murder, and rapine of every description, not even sparing the churches, he had put to death a pursuivant of the king, having the royal arms about his neck, which was considered as an act of high-treason. He dashed out the brains of this man with his own mace, for daring to serve a royal writ upon him. All intercession was in vain employed for so notorious a miscreant, who incurred his deserved fate upon the gibbet. The prosecution against Gerard de la Guette was of a more ordinary character. He had been a low-born officer of finance, raised to the dignity of treasurer by Philip the Long, and, as usual, stood accused of having failed

to render to the new king a fair account of the sums intrusted to him by the old one. He was arrested, but escaped the fate of Marrigny by dying in prison.

The affairs of England, which now became rather perplexed, next attracted Charles's anxious attention. There had been for a long time a friendly understanding betwixt the courts of England and France; but in A.D. 1322, some disturbances occurred in Guienne, which made Charles the Fair in more peremptory terms than usual demand that the King of England should appear and render homage for the possessions he still occupied in France.

This was an inconvenient summons to Edward II., a weak and unfortunate prince, who, having been completely defeated by the Scottish, had, moreover, been much thwarted by the English barons, who put to death Gaveston, his favourite, and had reduced the king himself to a very low ebb. Latterly, having been successful against the insurgent barons, the king had selected for his minion Hugh

Spencer, an ambitious and profligate young man, who now ruled the king with absolute sway. Isabella, the queen of Edward II., was, as a French princess, and sister of the reigning monarch of that country, judged the fittest agent to represent Edward at the court of France, since her husband himself was afraid to visit that kingdom, and his favourite Spencer was still more unwilling that his master should take such a journey. It is said, besides, that Edward, who did not love his wife, was desirous to be rid of the restraint on his pleasures imposed by her presence in England. But he and his advisers failed to observe, that Isabella, finding herself excluded from her husband's affections, had contracted a contempt for him which amounted to hatred. There is also too much reason to believe that the same exasperated princess had already become attached criminally to Roger Mortimer, afterwards well known as her paramour. He had escaped from the Tower of London some time before; and, as he was now residing in France,

it was imprudent, to say the least, to send the queen, where their correspondence might be easily renewed or continued.

Edward, however, looking no farther than his immediate convenience, permitted, or rather enjoined, his wife to go to France, to negotiate between her brother and her husband. But the personal presence of Edward himself was still required by the King of France, as a condition of the restoration of Guienne. Again Isabella interposed her mediation, and procured the consent of the French king, that if Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward III., would perform the homage, investiture of those territories should be granted to him, without demanding his father's personal presence. This was regularly transacted in the course of a few days. But the unfortunate Edward II. was not aware that his queen had only gone abroad with the purpose of returning at the head of an army, by which he was afterwards dethroned, imprisoned, and murdered.

Isabella had already commenced her in-

trigues to that effect, which did not escape the notice of the French court. It does not indeed appear that Charles the Fair connived at the conspiracy of his sister against her husband, though it is alleged that she received the advice of Robert of Artois, by which she left the court of Paris for that of Hainault, where she arranged a marriage for her son with Philippa, the daughter of the count, and obtained the military supplies with which she afterwards invaded England.

Charles the Fair was now beginning to feel the same infirm health which had carried off his brethren. He finally died at Bois de Vincennes, and the descendants of Hugo Capet were extinct in the first line by
A.D. 1327. the death of the last male heir of Philip the Fair. It was remarked, that at the death of the last-named prince, there existed three sons at man's estate, so that, according to all human prospects, the succession to the crown seemed amply provided for; yet it pleased God in so short a space as fourteen years that they should all be carried off by death,

without any of them leaving male issue. The only chance of an heir-male of this branch coming into existence, was, that the Queen-dowager Joanna, third wife of Charles the Fair, might perhaps be delivered of a son. Her orphan, however, proved to be a daughter, which, opening the succession to Philip of Valois, the next heir-male of the House of Capet, gave rise to the conflicting claims of the Kings of England and France, and to the dreadful war which ravaged the two kingdoms, but especially that of France.

CHAP. VI.

Homage paid by Edward III. to Philip of France in the Cathedral of Amiens—Edward subdues Scotland, and resolves to assert his Claim (in right of his Mother) to the Crown of France, to which course he is incited by Robert of Artois, the exiled Minister of Philip—Edward obtains the consent of his Parliament for an Invasion of France, and sets sail—Naval Engagement at the entrance of the Harbour of Sluyse, in which the English are victorious—Siege of Saint Omers—the Besiegers dispersed by a sally of the Defenders—Siege of Tournay—a Truce for one year concluded, and Edward returns to England—Prolongation of the Truce—Dispute concerning the Succession to the Dukedom of Bretagne—The French King espouses the part of Charles of Blois, who had been dispossessed of the Duchy by John de Montfort—De Montfort taken, and imprisoned

—the masculine Courage of his Countess—she holds out Hennebon against Charles of Blois and his French Auxiliaries—English Succours, under Sir Walter Manny, thrown into the Town, by whose gallantry the Siege is raised—Prosecution of the War—Hennebon again besieged, and the Siege again raised—a Truce concluded—Renewal of the War—Edward himself takes the Field, and is opposed by John, the son of Philip—Truce concluded—A new Rupture between the Kings of France and England—Campaign under the Earl of Derby—Siege of Auberoche raised by the gallantry of Sir Walter Manny—Military Tactics at this period—Feudal Chivalry—Free Companions—English Bows and Bills—Italian Cross-bowmen—French Infantry—Mercenaries.

ALTHOUGH the states of France had formally recognised the accession of King Philip, yet Edward III., the young King of England, was far from acquiescing in a decision which had the effect of depriving him of a succession, which, in every other kingdom but France, would have made him

unquestioned heir to his maternal uncle, Charles the Fair.

Edward was young, brave, ambitious, full of talent, and at the head of a mighty nation. Yet, even in early youth, he was capable of listening to prudent counsel; and, sensible that, considering the revolutions which England had lately undergone,—considering his own bondage, as it might be termed, under the guardianship of his mother and her favourite, Mortimer,—considering also, the unanimity of France under the present king, this was not a time to propose a claim so important, and which must be followed by inevitable war. His decision was hurried by a summons from the King of France, that he should appear and do homage for the dukedom of Aquitaine, the denial of which requisition must have instantly been followed by a declaration of forfeiture, which Edward was as yet in no condition to dispute. He therefore resolved to submit to the summons for the present. But to avoid the inference, that, by rendering this homage for his French pos-

sessions, he acknowledged the right of Philip of Valois as King of France, King Edward, in his own secret council, entered a solemn protest, that such homage as he should at this time pay to Philip, should not prejudice his own hereditary right to the kingdom of France, in virtue of his mother, Isabella. Under this private protestation, Edward went to France with a noble train of knights and peers, where Philip met him with an attendance and retinue suited to the occasion, to receive the homage which the other came to pay. It may be well supposed, that every ceremony applicable to the rendering of such fealty, was nicely disputed between such august personages. The meeting of the sovereigns was in the cathedral of Amiens. The English king appeared clad in a robe of crimson velvet, embroidered with leopards of gold. He wore a royal crown on his head, was girt with his sword, and had his golden spurs buckled upon his heels. The King of France received him, seated in a chair, before which a cushion was laid for the King of Eng-

land to kneel upon. As he refused that act of humiliation, the Grand Chamberlain of France insisted, not only that that posture should be adopted, but that the King of England should lay aside the regal ornaments, and that the homage should be rendered by him kneeling, bare-headed, without sword and girdle, and without spurs. Edward was extremely angry at being compelled to divest himself, in such an assembly, of the usual marks of his rank. He was, however, obliged to do so; and it is probable his hatred to Philip of Valois was greatly increased by his being subjected to this public affront.

This unpleasing ceremony being performed, and the English possessions in France so far secured, Edward returned to England, where he dispossessed his mother and her lover, Mortimer, of the administration, and took the command of the kingdom into his own hand.

This revolution effected, the young king, perceiving Scotland deprived by death of her heroic deliverer, Robert Bruce, and of his

great captains, Randolph, Douglas, and others, thought the time opportune for renewing his grandfather's and father's attempts upon the liberty of that nation. With this purpose, he invaded that country—first, by means of the Disinherited Barons, as the English lords were called, (lords, that is, who had lost estates in Scotland, granted to them by Edward I. and II.,) and afterwards by his own royal armies—and soon reduced the Scottish to nearly the same state of reluctant subjection which they experienced in the time of his grandfather Edward I.

As, however, the natives of the north continued to show the same indomitable opposition to the English yoke; as the young king and queen of that nation had found refuge in France, when there was no corner of safety left for them in their own country; as French money, and even French troops, were sent at different times to keep up the spirit of the Scottish insurgents, Edward, now in nearly complete possession of the island of Britain, began to meditate the assertion of

his own claim of inheritance upon France, that he might so put an end at once, and for ever, to the troublesome interference of that powerful nation, in his Scottish wars.

To this resolution the King of England was urged by the counsels of a hot-tempered and disappointed man, who fled about this time from the court of France to that of England. This was no other than Robert, Count of Artois, a high prince of the blood, and an especial councillor, till this period, of Philip of Valois. This nobleman was grandson to a Robert Count of Artois, slain at the battle of Courtray, after having had a son, named Philip, who died before him. The slaughtered count left a daughter named Matilda, besides this Robert of Artois, son of Philip, who was entitled, as male heir, to the succession of his grandfather. But Matilda, the daughter of the elder Count Robert, being married to Otho of Burgundy, and two daughters whom she had by that marriage, being married to two sons of Philip the Fair, that king of France adjudged

the county of Artois to the heir-female, which was confirmed by a judgment of Philip the Long. In this decision the Salic Law was set aside, it being alleged that the peculiar customs of inheritance, observed from time immemorial in Artois, did not permit its application.

By these judgments, Robert of Artois, the grandson, conceived himself highly injured, and began to employ his political sagacity in the way which he thought most likely to favour his own interest in the county of Artois. In the debate concerning the succession, upon the death of Charles the Fair, Robert of Artois declared zealously for the party of Philip of Valois, both because Philip's right, being that of an heir-male, favoured his own claim upon the county of Artois, and because he was himself brother-in-law and friend of the claimant.

Philip, who was greatly indebted to this prince for smoothing his access to the crown, by his important services and eloquent representations, received him into his highest

favour, presented him with the earldom of Beaumont le Roger, and consulted him in almost all important business which he had to transact, until Robert, thus distinguished, began to think the period was favourable for again trying the question respecting the succession of his grandfather, no longer indeed with his aunt Matilda, who was dead, but with her successors. After obtaining, therefore, many marks of the king's favour and confidence, he was so secure of his interest, as to propose to Philip of Valois, to review and alter the decisions of his predecessors, Philip the Fair and Philip the Long, which took from Robert the county of Artois. The king eluded his minister's request, by replying, that he had no power to disturb the decisions of his predecessors, and that Robert ought to remain satisfied with such possessions as he had obtained from the kindness of the king. This refusal drove D'Artois to still more unlawful expedients, to obtain the end on which he had determined. He forged, or caused to be forged,

a testament of his grandfather, settling the county of Artois in his favour, and produced it to the king, as a document affording sufficient room for reviewing and recalling the judgments of which he complained. Philip of Valois, looking upon the deed produced, of which he instantly recognised the falsehood, sternly exhorted his minister to desist from a pursuit so unjust, and to beware how he prejudiced his own honour, and insulted his sovereign, by claiming faith for forged deeds. Robert of Artois replied with fury, that he would support the truth of the testament with his lance in the lists, against whosoever impugned it. The king, highly offended at a defiance in which he thought his own person was included, answered sternly, "I will impugn it, and will know how to punish the fabricator."

The king and his minister parted in great displeasure on both sides, and Robert of Artois was heard to drop these dangerous words:—"He who placed the crown upon

Philip's head, knows how to deprive him of it again."

This imprudent speech being reported to Philip, he published a sentence against his late minister, condemning him for forgery; declaring him fallen from his honours, banishing him from France, and pronouncing his property confiscated. At the same time, a female of the house of Betune was burnt alive, as the actual forger of the testament in question, and as guilty also of sorcery. By this usage, in which, perhaps, the king, in forgetting former services, followed the dictates of offended dignity farther than prudence would have counselled, Robert of Artois was driven to despair. Philip's displeasure even extended to the exile's wife, whom he imprisoned, although she was his own sister; and he showed similar rancour, by interfering to prevent Robert from finding refuge in Brabant, where his friends were prohibited from protecting him, under pain of the King of France's vengeance. This inflexible severity drove the exiled statesman to seek

refuge with Edward, who was Philip's most formidable enemy, both from situation, and recollection of the scene of homage which he had been constrained to perform at Amiens.

In the year 1337, Robert of Artois fled to England in disguise, and being a near relation of Edward, received there welcome and protection; and, from his character for policy, speedily found the road to the king's ear. He employed his influence, which soon became great, to persuade Edward of the practicability of asserting his title to the crown of France in right of his mother. Edward, flattered by the prospects displayed by so sagacious a counsellor, resolved upon a war with France, founded on the sweeping and general assertion, that he himself was the lawful heir of that kingdom, in despite of the Salic law on which Philip reposed his right. A.D. 1337.

Availing himself of the wealth which his subjects readily put at their king's command, in a point where their sense of national glory was so strongly interested, Edward commenced, at very great expense, to form a

confederacy with the Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, the Dukes of Brabant and Guelders, the Archbishop of Cologne, and other petty princes of the Low Country, for the formation of an army which should support the title which he intended to assume as King of France. For the levying and keeping on foot this army, he engaged to pay large subsidies to the princes of the confederacy.

Edward III., however, experienced what has been since often felt, that it is easier for England, by her wealth, to induce continental powers to take up arms in her behalf, than to inspire them with vigour and spirit in an enterprise, to which money alone had induced them to accede. Philip took the field, with an army of one hundred thousand men, to face this gathering storm, but cautiously avoided a combat, in which a defeat might have cost him his throne; and the allied princes trimmed, shuffled, procrastinated, and delayed assembling their forces, till the summer passed away without any
A.D. 1340. remarkable event. In the spring, 1340,

Edward returned to hold his parliament, which was called chiefly for the purpose of requiring new subsidies from his subjects, having exhausted those formerly granted among his allies to little purpose. His parliament were, however, complaisant; and, having settled his affairs at home, the king resolved to return to the continent, although the French fleet, amounting to four hundred sail, with forty thousand men on board, who had been already troublesome to the English coasts and commerce, was prepared, by their master's order, to intercept Edward upon the sea.

These vessels were hired from the republic of Genoa, and manned with mariners from that state. On 22d June, 1340, the King of England set sail with two hundred and sixty vessels well manned with archers and men-at-arms. Other vessels conveyed English ladies and gentlewomen, who went over to pay their respects to the queen, whom Edward had left behind him in Flanders as a pledge of his return. When the English

A.D. 1340.

approached the harbour of Sluyse, which they had fixed for disembarkation, they beheld it occupied by so many vessels, that their masts and streamers seemed like a great wood. The king demanded of the master of his vessel, "what he conceived this navy to be."—"They are," answered the master, "ships fitted out by the French king to despoil your Majesty's coasts, and interrupt your commerce. They have already done you, in this way, much harm; and now, if they may, it is their object to take your person."—"Ha!" said the king, "I have long desired to meet them, and now I will make them dearly abye the displeasures they have done me." Acting as admiral in person, the king commanded his fleet to cast anchor for the night.

On the next morning, having arranged the vessels bearing the ladies at such a distance that they might see the conflict without danger, Edward, with his ships of war, held a course in moving towards the fight which was calculated to gain the wind of the

enemy, in which manœuvre he succeeded. This conduct also seemed to the French to evince timidity on the part of Edward, and induced them to leave the harbour to attack the English fleet,—another object which the King of England had in view. The battle commenced at ten in the morning, and lasted nine long hours, during which the Genoese sailors, by whom the French ships were manned, plied the English with their cross-bows, to which the English replied with the long-bow, a much more effective weapon, and which had been a favourite in England ever since the Norman Conquest. When the missiles on each side were expended, the ships approached close to each other, and grappled or secured themselves to their opponents by means of iron chains or hooks, by which the contending vessels were held together. The men-at-arms on both sides thus fought on the decks hand to hand, with their swords and axes, as if on shore. The English, animated by the presence and example of Edward, obtained at length, after

a bloody battle, a most complete victory, the first distinguished naval success of England, which has since gained so many. In consequence of which, the whole French navy being taken, dispersed, or destroyed, King Edward achieved his landing with all glory and victory; and the splendour of his conquest induced his allies to show an activity which they had not yet manifested. The king, in conjunction with them, formed the siege of Tournay, a strong town, which was valiantly defended by the assistance of a French garrison.

At this time the country of Flanders was divided betwixt two factions. The earl of that country adhered faithfully to King Philip, whose vassal he was, and was followed by the nobles and gentry. But the towns of Flanders were at all times inhabited by a mutinous body of citizens, manufacturers, and the like, who were not disposed to submit to the earl or his nobility, and were often engaged in actual rebellion against him, and in insurrection against his dependent nobles.

A brewer, of the name of D'Arteville, had raised himself to the rank of a principal demagogue among these artisans, and, holding a close intercourse with Edward III., was of course hostile to the French party, which had been embraced by the earl.

An army of these insurgent Flemings, amounting in number to forty thousand men, with the auxiliary aid of five thousand English archers, took the field under Robert of Artois, who, acting as the commander of this second and somewhat tumultuary army, laid siege to Saint Omers, while the more regular part of the allied troops besieged Tournay. Saint Omers, however, was well defended; and in an attack upon the suburbs of the place, the besieged made a strong sally upon the Flemings while in disorder, slew about three or four thousand men, and impressed upon the rest a panic terror, which manifested itself in an extraordinary way that very night. About midnight, there fell upon the undisciplined besiegers a strange consternation, and groundless fear, which impelled them to cut down

their tents and pavilions, and fly from before the place. Their leaders in vain endeavoured to argue with them, asking, "Why they fled? whom they feared?" and such like questions, to which the Flemings made no answer, but dispersed themselves in confusion, never again to be assembled as an army.

One part of King Edward's plan for the campaign was thus frustrated by a singular accident; nor was the siege at Tournay more successful, though it was more regularly conducted, and more honourably raised, than that of Saint Omers. King Edward maintained the siege of the former place for nine weeks and upwards, still hoping that he might be able to compel Philip, who lay with a royal army within three or four leagues of the place, to hazard a battle for its relief.

In this, however, he failed. In consequence of which disappointment, and scarcely knowing in what way to bring the war to a decision, Edward dispatched a personal challenge, defying King Philip to let the controversy be decided either by the kings them-

selves in single fight, or by a hundred champions on each side. Philip had too much wisdom to accept of this defiance. He returned for answer that a king accepted not a challenge from a vassal, and upbraided Edward with being perjured after the oath which he had taken when he paid him homage at Amiens.

The German and Dutch confederates of England were again becoming weary of the war, which was marked by so little good fortune; and, what may be considered as a simultaneous occurrence, Edward's power of continuing the subsidies to these venal allies was gradually diminishing.

When matters were in this critical posture before Tournay, the Pope and his cardinals urged strongly the necessity of peace betwixt the two Christian monarchs, the most powerful in Europe, in order that they might engage in a joint effort against the infidels. This gave an apology, at least, to Edward's pride, for entering into terms. Robert, King of Sicily, was equally anxious in the same

cause of mediation; but especially the Lady Jane of Valois, Countess Dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to the King of England, and sister to Philip of France, did her utmost, by affectionate remonstrances and judicious arguments, to prevail upon the contending monarchs to negotiate for a truce. This was
A.D. 1340. concluded in September, 1340, to continue for one year, and affording, it was supposed, sufficient leisure for adjusting a definitive peace.

Edward returned to England in very bad humour, deserted by his mercenary confederates, and convinced that he himself was mistaken in supposing he could conquer France by the aid of princes, who, one by one, (the emperor himself not excepted,) made peace with his enemy when the treasures of England failed. On the other hand, notwithstanding his loss in the great sea action, Philip of France carried away all the advantages of the campaign. He had saved Tournay from ruin, and obliged the King of England, who had threatened to dethrone him, to retreat

from his dominions, without having been able to gain so much as a single village of France, and was therefore, undoubtedly, in every sense, possessed of the effective fruits of victory.

The truce, of course, terminated the war for the present; but still the ground of mortal quarrel remained betwixt the two countries, rankled deep in each, and afforded a ready pretence for either nation, when they should again choose to take up arms. Neither could a more solid peace between the crowns be now achieved, although Edward required nothing more than a release for the payment of homage for Gascony; a condition greatly short of his original high pretensions. The truce, therefore, was prolonged for another year, as the only way of avoiding the revival of a war which endangered Christendom. Thus stood matters, when an unexpected event took place, which revived Edward's hopes of obtaining possession of the crown of France, much abated as they had been by the event of the late unsatisfactory cam-

paigns. This was a dispute concerning the succession of the Duke of Bretagne, which originated as follows.

Arthur, the second duke, had, by his first wife, three sons, John, Guy, and Peter; by his second wife he left one son, named John de Montfort, being the title of his mother's family. At his death, Duke Arthur was succeeded by his eldest son, John III. This prince died 30th April, 1341, without issue; Guy, the second son of Duke Arthur, had been dead about ten years before, leaving one daughter, Jane, who, by desire of her uncle, was married to Charles de Blois, nephew to the King of France. During Duke Arthur's lifetime and reign, Peter, the third son of that prince, had died young and childless, while the aforesaid John de Montfort, son of Arthur, by his second wife, was still alive. Thus standing the succession, Duke John III. had prevailed upon the States of Bretagne to recognise the right of his niece, Jane, and her husband, Charles de Blois, as his presumptive heir and successor in the duchy,

in preference to John de Montfort, who was unquestionably the heir-male, and had, as such, a considerable party among the Bretons. This expression of the duke's will met no direct opposition. But, upon the death of Duke John, the Earl de Montfort determined to dispute the destination in which he had hitherto acquiesced. He entered into a close correspondance with Edward III., and easily prevailed upon him to forward his pretensions to the dukedom of Bretagne, agreeing, at the same time, to assert those of Edward to the kingdom of France. De Montfort seized on the treasure of the deceased duke, gained possession of Nantes, and several other towns of Bretagne, and made every effort to support his claim. To draw his connexion with England still closer, he visited that country, made a formal alliance with its sovereign, and did homage to Edward as King of France, for the dukedom of Bretagne.

These proceedings gave great and natural offence to the King of France, who, upon the complaint of Charles of Blois, sum-

moned De Montfort to appear before his Parliament of Paris. The earl somewhat incautiously obeyed the summons; but, finding himself charged with the feudal offence of having acknowledged Edward as his superior, and commanded to remain in the city of Paris for fifteen days, he began to be alarmed, and returned privately into Bretagne, before the French king knew of his departure.

The Parliament of Paris proceeded, in the absence of the Count de Montfort, to adjudge the duchy to Charles of Blois and his wife, as legal heirs to the deceased duke, adding, at the same time, that De Montfort, even had he ever possessed an interest in the fief, had forfeited it, both by doing homage to the King of England, and by breach of his arrest, contrary to King Philip's orders.

The King of France, at the same time, commanded his eldest son, the Duke of Normandy, to assist Charles of Blois in regaining possession of those towns in Bretagne which De Montfort had taken and garrisoned.

A vigorous attack was instantly made for the recovery of Bretagne, and Charles de Blois, by the assistance of a French army, in which a distinguished warrior, called Louis de la Cerda, more commonly Louis of Spain, acted as marshal of the host, had the good fortune to retake the capital of Nantes, in which Earl Montfort himself was made prisoner. He was sent to Paris, and imprisoned in the Louvre, where he long remained, entirely lost to his party. In most cases, therefore, the war would have been at an end ere it was well begun; and the scheme of Edward to obtain access to France, by the way of Bretagne, must have been totally frustrated. This was, however, prevented, by the masculine courage of the Countess Jane de Montfort, wife of the imprisoned earl, and sister to the Earl of Flanders.

This lady, who, says Froissart, "had the courage of a man and the heart of a lion," being in the city of Rennes when her lord was taken, scorned to yield to the grief with which that event oppressed her; but, as-

sembling her friends, presented to them her young son, John, as successor to his rights, who, by the grace of God, should be the means of restoring his father unto his family and friends. She undertook also to pay the soldiers regularly, and inspired a spirit of resistance into her party, which might have been supposed to have been utterly extinguished by her husband's misfortune.

Notwithstanding the resistance of the countess, Rennes was yielded to Charles de Blois, and there seemed little chance of any effectual stand being made, till she threw herself into Hennebon, a strong town in Bretagne, situated on the sea-shore, in which she was accompanied by the flower of her partisans, and where she prepared for a gallant defence. She herself wore armour, and rode through the streets on a mettled charger, exhorting the citizens to resistance. Her women were not excepted from martial labour, for she caused them to cut short their gowns, that they might be more active, and

carry stones and other missiles to the walls, to make good the defence.

The French having attempted to carry the town, by a general assault upon one side, the countess made a sally on the other, and set fire to the Frenchmen's camp, while they were engaged in the assault; and upon this and other occasions, did great damage to the besiegers. Notwithstanding this, and the valour and military skill which she displayed in making good the defence, the town suffered severely in the progress of the siege. The walls were so much shattered by the engines, that the Bishop of Leon, who visited the place in person, as a friend of Charles of Blois, pressed the conductors of the defence very much to come to terms with the besiegers. His arguments, and the desperate condition of the place, made considerable impression upon several of its defenders. The valiant countess now became alarmed for the defection of her followers, and piteously entreated them to hold out, were it but for the space of three days only, during which

time she asserted she was certain that the city would be relieved. Nevertheless, on the second day the Breton lords of her party again met in council with the Bishop of Leon, adjusting terms for the capitulation of Hennebon; and Charles of Blois, who was with the besiegers in person, had approached the walls with a strong party, to be in readiness to take possession of the place.

At this critical moment, the valiant Countess, in a state wellnigh approaching to despair, cast an almost hopeless glance upon the sea, from a lofty window of the castle, when, what was her joy to discover the horizon covered with the masts of a large navy, steering towards Hennebon. She exclaimed joyfully, "The Red Cross! the Red Cross! the succours of England are in sight!"

The Breton lords speedily changed their purpose of surrender, and dismissed the Bishop of Leon, to whom they were formerly disposed to listen, while Charles of Blois, incensed at his disappointment, ap-

proached to the walls the greatest engine the besiegers had in their camp. The English, who had been forty days delayed on the sea by contrary winds, now landed at Hennebon. They formed a small army, commanded by Sir Walter Manny, a Flemish lord in the service of King Edward, and one of the most renowned warriors of that period. The very next day after his arrival, he expressed his wish to come to action. "I have a great desire," he said, "to issue from the town, and to break down yonder great engine, which they have brought so near us." The Breton lords within the place gladly assented. They burst forth from the gates, broke the engine to pieces, and pursued those who guarded it to the camp of the besiegers. The host of the French now began to get under arms, to protect the fugitives; and Sir Walter, seeing their main body advancing, turned against them, with the chivalrous protestation, "May I never be beloved of my lady, if I refuse to break a lance with these pursuers!" He turned accordingly, and many a knight was

unhorsed, and deed of arms done. With equal prudence as valour, Sir Walter Manny, after a gallant skirmish, drew off his forces under cover of the ditches, which were lined with English archers, and returned to Hennebon, where the Countess of Montfort, as we are informed by the chronicle, kissed him and his brave companions twice or thrice, like a valiant lady. The siege of Hennebon was accordingly raised.

A.D. 1342.

Many skirmishes were fought, in which the English courage, and the excellence of their archers, gained an ascendency, which was exceedingly mortifying to Charles de Blois, and to Don Louis of Spain, who acted as marshal of his army.

The latter was a general of great courage and conduct, but nevertheless was tinged with the vindictive and cruel temper which was supposed peculiar to the Spanish nation. Moving along the coast of Bretagne with a strong force of Spaniards and Genoese, he destroyed a seaport town called Guerande, where he spared neither man,

woman, nor child. Taking shipping at this place, Don Louis reached Quimperlé, another haven, where he landed, and, burning, sacking, and destroying the whole surrounding country, collected a great spoil. But while he was thus engaged, Sir Walter Manny, who had put to sea in pursuit of him, arrived at Quimperlé, with three thousand English archers, and a sufficient number of men-at-arms. The English instantly seized upon the French ships and booty, which remained unprotected in the port of Quimperlé, while Don Louis himself, with his soldiers, continued to ravage the neighbourhood; and Sir Walter Manny, landing with his forces, set off in pursuit of his enemy. They met, and engaged with fury. The English archers displayed their usual superiority. Don Alphonso, the nephew of Don Louis, was killed on the spot; the Genoese and Spaniards dispersed themselves, and were destroyed by the Bretons, as they fled in different directions. Don Louis, much wounded, with great difficulty made his

escape in a swift-sailing skiff, which held only a few of his followers.

Notwithstanding these successes on the part of the Countess of Montfort and her auxiliaries, the forces of Charles de Blois daily increased; and it became obvious, that although the troops of Sir Walter Manny were sufficient to deliver the countess, and to protect her person, yet more numerous and effectual succours were necessary for obtaining success in her undertaking, and maintaining Bretagne against the power of France. Charles of Blois had succeeded in taking the important towns of Vannes and Karhuis, and had resolved again to attack Hennebon, which might be considered as the principal seat of the war, since the countess and her son resided there, secure in the strength of the place, which was protected by strong trenches, to which the sea was admitted, and no less secure in the valour of Sir Walter Manny, and the English auxiliary forces.

Determined, therefore, to renew the siege,

Charles of Blois and Don Louis of Spain reared up against Hennebon sixteen engines of the largest size, with which they cast great stones into the place, and ruined the walls and defences. The besieged, however, strengthened their defences with a great number of woolpacks, which broke the force of the stones; this encouraged the countess and her auxiliaries so much, that they upbraided the besiegers by calling from the walls, "Why bring you not up the troops whom you carried from hence to Quimperlé?" This insult was particularly directed against Louis of Spain, whose pride was highly offended at being thus reminded of his shameful defeat, the loss of his army, his own wounds and flight, and the death of a beloved nephew. He chose a mode of revenge, which accorded ill with the honourable sentiments by which men of his rank were then expected to guide themselves.

Passing to the tent of Charles de Blois, Louis of Spain desired of him a boon, in requital of all the service which he had

done him; this was readily granted. When his request came to be explained, he demanded the persons of two gallant English knights, who had been made prisoners, when wounded, that he might do with them according to his pleasure; declaring at the same time, that, in revenge of the insults of the people of Hennebon, and of the defeats he had suffered from the English, it was his purpose to strike off the heads of the prisoners within sight of the walls. Charles of Blois, who was a courteous and accomplished knight, answered the Spaniard that his boon should be readily granted, were it not asked for a purpose which would dishonour Don Louis himself, and occasion the English generals to use retaliation on the prisoners of their party. Don Louis to this expostulation sullenly replied, that if Charles did not grant him the boon he required, he would on the spot renounce both his cause and his company. Charles of Blois, unable to dispense with the Spaniard's services, thought himself obliged to deliver up the two English

prisoners, who were named Sir John Butler and Sir Matthew Trelawney, to be used as Don Louis pleased. Nor could any entreaty of those around divert the Spaniard from his savage and unknightly resolution of having them publicly executed shortly after dinner upon the same day.

Sir Walter Manny, being informed of the imminent danger in which the two valiant knights stood, addressed his followers thus: "Great honour were it to us should we be able to save the lives of yonder knights; and even the attempt, though unsuccessful, will be praised by our good King Edward, and by all men of worth who shall hear thereof." With this resolution, which was adopted with acclamation by all who heard the proposal, the greater part of the garrison, being six thousand archers and three hundred men-at-arms, under the command of a gallant Breton knight, Sir Aymery of Clisson, sallied forth suddenly, and with great vigour, against the camp of the French, which they furiously assailed. The besiegers immedi-

ately took to arms, and the battle became very hot. In the meantime, Sir Walter Manny, taking a hundred men-at-arms and five hundred archers, whom he had reserved for that purpose, and sallying from a private postern, fetched a circuit, and fell upon the camp of the enemy, in a quarter where he met so little opposition, that he penetrated to the tent where the two knights were confined. Here he found them bound, and prepared for instant execution. He cut their bonds, mounted them on horseback, and carried them off in triumph, thus delivering them from the destiny allotted to them by Louis of Spain.

After sustaining this insult, Charles of Blois and his party, finding no chance of possessing themselves of Hennebon, raised the siege, and withdrew, after having established a truce with the Countess of Montfort, which was to endure to the 15th of May following, when the weather would permit the campaign to be opened anew.

In the winter season the heroic countess

herself, with some of her principal partisans, made a visit to England, where she kept her Christmas in high state, honoured by all, as became her courage and celebrity.

Early next year, an auxiliary army was raised in England for the service of Bretagne, and Robert of Artois, already mentioned, was its destined commander. He put to sea about the middle of May, in which month the truce with Charles of Blois expired. The noble Countess de Montfort returned to Bretagne with the same armament. Near Guernsey they fell in with the fleet of France, commanded by Don Louis of Spain, often already mentioned, and a brave leader as well on sea as on land. Both parties encountered with mutual animosity, the Countess de Montfort keeping the deck of her vessel with a drawn sword in her hand, like the knights and men-at-arms on both sides. The engagement was very fierce, being on the one side maintained by the cross-bowmen of Genoa, and on the other by the English archers, both renowned for their skill in their

A.D. 1343.

weapons; but the fleets were parted by a storm, without the battle being decided for either party.

When Robert of Artois arrived in Bretagne with his forces, which were rather select than numerous, he made his first attack upon the strong city of Vannes, which he took by surprise. The success of the English in this enterprise induced their leaders to divide their forces. One party went to Hennebon, with the Countess of Montfort and Sir Walter Manny; another, under the Earl of Salisbury and Pembroke, laid siege to the city of Rennes, and Robert of Artois was left, with very inferior forces, in possession of Vannes, his late acquisition. Here he was suddenly surrounded by twelve thousand French, assembled for the purpose of overpowering him. The besiegers, being at the same time afraid that they might themselves be attacked by the English, who lay before Rennes, made a sudden and desperate attack on the city of Vannes, and took it by storm. Robert d'Artois was much wounded, and nar-

rowly escaped to Hennebon. From thence he took shipping for England; but being detained upon the sea, his wounds rankled, and he died shortly after arriving in London. Thus perished that unfortunate exile, whose personal resentment and vindictive counsel had been so immediately the occasion of this bloody war. Even his death appeared to be the means of exasperating it. Edward III., who loved Robert d'Artois, and considered him as a martyr in his cause, swore he would not rest till he had revenged his death, and for that purpose he would lead an army in person into Bretagne. He kept his oath accordingly, and arrived in that province with considerable forces in October 1343.

Philip of Valois now saw the necessity of making a great exertion. He commissioned his son, John Duke of Normandy, to levy as strong a force as possible, and drive the English from Bretagne. Accordingly, this young prince raised an army, amounting to more than forty thousand men, greatly superior, of course, to those Englishmen who

had been sent thither under Robert d'Artois, even when united with the army under Edward himself. A battle might have been expected between two such considerable armies; and such a crisis seemed, indeed, to be actually approaching. King Edward encamped his army, now assembled into one body, before the city of Vannes, and the Duke of Normandy approached the same town upon the other side, with a view to raise the siege; but both armies were in a state of such difficulty as prevented their acting with effect. The English could not prudently make any attempt upon Vannes in presence of the French host, while, on the other hand, the French army, though more numerous, dared not assault the English, secured as they were by their strong intrenchments. Thus the armies lay fronting each other, both sufficiently distressed for want of provisions. Little passed but skirmishing. At length the contending princes became inclined to listen to the arguments of two cardinals, sent by the Pope to mediate a pacifica-

tion between France and England, if such were possible. These eminent churchmen laboured so effectually, that, in 1343, a truce was concluded between King Edward and the Duke of Normandy, in the name of his father. France was therefore, for the present, relieved from the presence of the English armies and their warlike monarch; but the quarrel was too much embittered to permit of a speedy settlement. A.D. 1343.

It was not long before both kings accused each other of breach of the agreement, and of actions inconsistent with the truce. King Philip of Valois gave particular occasion to the charge, by putting to death certain Breton lords who had adopted the party of De Montfort, and who had fallen into his hands during the war, as well as others whom he considered as intriguing with Edward, though they had hitherto preserved the external appearance of French subjects. Among these was the Lord of Clisson, a brave, powerful, and popular noble. On the other hand, the French king complained that King Edward A.D. 1344.

kept on foot his party in Bretagne by all manner of indirect intrigues. In short both monarchs expressed themselves deeply offended with each other, and desirous of renewing the war as soon as convenient.

The English parliament, although the French war entailed on the nation a burdensome and useless expense, entered nevertheless warmly into the passions of Edward, advised him to prosecute the war with vigour, and granted him large subsidies to enable him to do so. The king, thus encouraged
A. D. 1344. by his subjects, sent in 1344 a small army into Guienne, of great part of which province, it must be remembered, the English were still possessed; and also in the same year dispatched reinforcements to the party of De Montfort in Bretagne, where very many of the Bretons themselves, highly incensed against the French for the cruel execution of several of their nobles, were in arms for the Countess of Montfort. The English troops sent to Guienne were placed under the command of the king's near kinsman, Henry of

Lancaster, Earl of Derby. By the good management of this gallant chief, the English army took various towns in the south of France, and defeated in battle the French army under the Count de l'Isle, an excellent general.

The circumstances of the action were something extraordinary. A strong castle in Gascony, called Auberoche, had been taken by the English, and three knights of their party were stationed there with a garrison, for the defence of the place. The Count de l'Isle, who had hitherto been outshone in activity and adventure by the Earl of Derby, now thought of recovering his reputation by regaining this place of Auberoche. He conceived he should be able to achieve this by such a rapid concentration of his forces, as he trusted might enable him to carry the castle, before the Earl of Derby, who was lying at Bourdeaux, could entertain any suspicion of his purpose. He summoned therefore around him all the vassals within reach, who owned the authority of the King of France, and

having thus assembled a considerable army, suddenly laid siege to Auberoche, where the small English garrison were totally unprovided for defence. The Frenchmen brought with them, to the attack of the place, four very powerful engines, which they employed day and night in casting such huge stones as broke down the battlements, and shattered the roofs of the castle so much, that the garrison were compelled to shelter themselves in the vaults and cellars. The besieged knights saw no chance of escape or relief, unless they could communicate their hard case to the Earl of Derby, then lying at Bourdeaux, and request him to advance to their deliverance.

One of their attendants undertook this perilous task, and, in the character of a Gascon peasant, attempted to pass through the camp of the enemy; he was discovered, however, and seized. The letter of the besieged knights to the Earl of Derby which the captive messenger bore, informed the besiegers of the straits in which the garrison was pla-

ced; and, in order to make the besieged aware that their messenger had been intercepted, the French cruelly put the poor fellow upon one of their engines, and cast him into the town, accompanied with the insulting taunt, "Ask your messenger, sirs, where he found the Earl of Derby, since he went out but last night, and is returned again so shortly."

Frank de la Halle, a gallant German, and a faithful follower of Edward III., who was one of those within the castle, answered boldly, "Sirs, though we be inclosed here, we shall issue when it pleases God; and as to the Earl of Derby, if you will let us send a message to him touching our condition, there is not one of you will keep the field till his coming."—"Nay," answered the besiegers, "this shall not serve your turn; it will be time enough for the Earl of Derby to know of your condition when the castle is rendered."—"That it shall never be!" answered Frank de la Halle; "we will rather die in its ruins."

All these proceedings before Auberoche were conveyed to the Earl of Derby by a spy, whom that nobleman had in the French camp. So soon as he received news of the distress of the besieged, he assembled his troops, and sent to the Earl of Pembroke, then at Bergerac with a still larger force, to join him upon his march towards Auberoche. In the meantime he himself instantly set forth, accompanied by the Earl of Oxford, Sir Walter Manny, Lord Ferrars, Sir Richard Hastings, and other good knights, though having with them few followers. They tarried for some hours at a village called Lyborne, to abide for the Earl of Pembroke, who did not appear. On the succeeding evening they left the village, and, riding all night, were within two leagues of Auberoche in the dawning. Here they lighted from their horses, and made a halt till it was noon, still hoping for the Earl of Pembroke's junction. He came not, however; and the English were now obliged to consider whether they should venture to prosecute their enter-

prise with their own slender force. They were only three hundred spears, and about six hundred archers, while the army of the French lying before Auberoche amounted to ten or twelve thousand men. The determination was not easy, for, while the gallant knights felt the shame of abandoning their companions at Auberoche, it seemed rash to go on at such a disadvantage. "In the name of God," said Sir Walter Manny, at length, "let us direct our march upon Auberoche, under cover of this wood, which we may skirt without being descried, till we come upon the rear of the French where we are divided from them by open ground, and then take the advantage of a sudden and unexpected attack."

To this the valiant knights present readily agreed, and the men-at-arms continued their march towards Auberoche, till they reached a small valley, where the Frenchmen lay encamped,—none of them thinking of an enemy, and most of them busied with their supper. The English men-at-arms then

issued from the wood, having gained the rear of the besiegers, displayed their banners and pennons, dashed their spurs into their horses, and rushed upon the enemy, crying their war-shout of "A Derby! a Derby!"

The sudden surprise compensated for the inferiority of numbers; and such French knights and men-at-arms as could prepare for battle on the spur of the moment, found themselves exposed to the shot of the English archers, who were placed ready for that service. The Comte de l'Isle was taken in his tent, with many others. The besieged knights, also, hearing the tumult, and seeing the English ensigns, instantly armed themselves, and, rushing out, plunged into the thickest of the battle, and augmented the confusion of the French, who sustained, though by very inadequate means, a complete discomfiture. Their general, the Comte de l'Isle, with nine earls and viscounts, and almost all the lords, knights, and squires of his army, remained captives; and there was

scarce an English man-at-arms who had not two or three prisoners.

On the next morning, the Earl of Pembroke appeared at the head of a strong body of English, and blamed the Earl of Derby for engaging the enemy without him, since he might be sure, that, being sent for, he would not fail to keep the appointment. The Earl of Derby answered gently, that they had already tarried many hours for their companions; and that, had he suspended the attack longer, they might have been discovered by the enemy; in which case, the French might have attained the advantage which had so fortunately fallen to the English.

Thus terminated the campaign under the Earl of Derby, during the year 1344. In spring 1345, the Earl of Derby, now become Earl of Lancaster by his father's death, A.D. 1345. was reinforced from England, and resumed his career of conquest in Gascony; and, as well by taking several towns, as by skirmishes in the field, gained great honour for

himself, and extended in that province the authority of England. The Duke of Normandy, at the head of the knights and chivalry of that duchy, continued the principal opponent of the English, and the war was carried on with great activity on both sides.

It is impossible for us to give a minute description of these events, although the gallantry with which they were performed, has enabled the celebrated Froissart to decorate his splendid pages with many details of romantic chivalry. It will be more useful for you to obtain some idea of the description of troops that formed the armies by which these wars were carried on, and of the tactics upon which they acted.

You are already aware, that the strength of the armies in the fourteenth century consisted in cavalry, which was levied almost entirely upon feudal principles, with the exception of the mercenary troops, who must be considered separately.

The regular feudal horsemen consisted of the knights, of whom I have endeavoured

to give you some idea, together with their squires, pages, and personal attendants. The number of those who waited upon each knight, varied with circumstances; in especial cases, according to the means that their master had of maintaining them, as well as to his fame in arms; but generally amounted to about five men for each lance, that is, as the retinue of each knight. This chivalry was called out as vassals of the crown, of whom the leaders held their lands, and their service was considered as rendered in requital of their several estates; each powerful crown vassal being attended of course by his subordinate dependents, who served him on the same terms as he served the crown. Such was the system upon which the feudal cavalry were formed.

But it must be recollected that every knight was not necessarily possessed of land, which he held for military service; on the contrary, very many were elevated to that dignity, who either never had any estates of their own, or who had spent, or

otherwise lost them. This must have been frequently the case, since the dignity of knighthood could be conferred upon any one whom an individual knight judged worthy of the honour. The order could, therefore, be multiplied to an infinite number, without regard to any thing but the personal qualities of those on whom it was conferred, and especially to their skill in arms and military exercises. The number of knights, without either lands or substance, who sought adventures, merely to essay their courage, and push their fortunes in life, was very great; and these "bold bachelors," as they were called, were the flower of every feudal army. They subsisted by the bounty, or *largesse*, as it was called, of the princes whom they served, which was one great source of expense to those who embarked in war; and the intrepidity with which they engaged in combat was increased in proportion, in order to attract the favour of their leader.

A successful war had also its peculiar advantages to those chivalrous adventurers.

The knights, or nobles, who were overcome in battle, and compelled to yield themselves to the more fortunate among the victors, "rescue or no rescue," were obliged to purchase their liberty at such sum as might be agreed on. The conditions of these bargains were well understood, and the prisoner, according to his rank and wealth, adjusted with his captor the price of his enfranchisement. On this subject, so much generosity prevailed among the French and English in particular, that the victorious party frequently did not carry their prisoners off the field, but freely dismissed them, under the sole condition, that they should meet the captors afterwards, at a time and place fixed, and settle the terms of their ransom. To fail in such an appointment would have been, on the part of the captive knight, held most unworthy and dishonourable, and he would have exposed himself to the scorn of the ladies, minstrels, and heralds, to stand high in whose praise was the especial object of every true son of chivalry.

Besides these casual profits, which, when the war was successful, and the enemy wealthy, often rose to a great sum, the knights adventurers, in time of peace, wandered from court to court, and castle to castle, exhibiting their skill in tournaments, gaining the favour of the lords under whose patronage such martial exercises were displayed, and sometimes acquiring the love of heiresses, by whom their fortunes were established. In the meantime, rich prizes were often gained by the victors in these military exhibitions; while, at any rate, the expenses of the knights who attended them, as well as of their retinue, was defrayed with prodigality by the sovereign prince, or high noble, at whose court the entertainment was given. Thus, though without lands and revenues, hundreds and thousands of those sons of chivalry subsisted with ease and honour, during this romantic period. There were also numbers of knights, doubtless, who died in poverty and misery, and the end of an unsuccessful expedition was usually signalized by

the total ruin of the knights-adventurers who had been engaged in it. Such were the cavalry, the very flower, of course, of the feudal armies.

The appointments of these knights consisted in a suit of armour, more or less perfect, which defended the whole person. Sometimes it was made of mail, that is, links of iron, forming a sort of network dress, which covered the person, and was almost impenetrable either to sword or lance. Latterly, the armour was composed of plates of iron, which protected the men-at-arms from head to heel. The offensive weapons of the knight were, a lance, twelve or fifteen feet long, a heavy sword, a dagger, and often a species of battle-axe, or a steel club, called a mace-at-arms. The horse, like the knight, was covered, either with a housing made of mail, or with armour of plate. When mounted, and charging in squadron, as the knight and his horse were almost invulnerable, so their attack was wellnigh irresistible. Sometimes it was thought necessary to employ

the men-at-arms on foot, on which occasion they were commanded to put off their spurs, and cut their lances to the length of five or six feet, so as to make the weapon less unwieldy.

The men-at-arms were sometimes liable to be surprised. Upon a march they seldom wore the weightier parts of their armour; and their heavy war-horse was rode, or led, beside them by a page, while the knight himself bestrode a hackney, to receive his armed horse fresh for the moment of battle. A sudden attack, therefore, was apt to discompose the men-at-arms before they could be fully prepared for action. If the war-horse was killed in battle, the knight was, in most instances, taken or slain, since he could not raise himself from the ground, without assistance from the squires or pages who attended for that purpose.

We are now to consider the state of their infantry, which, in comparison, was of a very inferior description.

We must remark one great distinction,

however, in favour of the archery of England, a species of troops almost unknown to any other country, and possessing qualities which decided very many battles in favour of their own. You can easily conceive that the infantry of every nation must be divided into two kinds, calculated for two distinct services, to which their weapons are severally adapted; one of these distinct species of force must be armed with missiles for distant warfare, the other, with weapons fitted to strike or thrust in a close encounter. Modern times indeed have, in a great measure, united them both, by adopting the musket and bayonet; the former for more distant, the latter for close combat. But at the period we speak of, no weapon existed possessing this double advantage. Of the troops then employed, the bowmen of England were the most formidable at a distance. They were selected from the yeomen of the country, men to whom the use of the weapon had been familiar from childhood; for the practice of archery was then encouraged by

prizes and public competition, in every village, in order to keep up the skill which the youth had acquired, and to extend the renown of England, as producing the best bowmen whom the world had ever seen.

The equipment and mode of exercise of these archers were calculated to maintain their superiority. Their dress was light, and had few ligatures. Instead of the numerous strings which then attached the jacket to the hose, or trousers, one stout *point*, as it was called, answered the necessary purpose, without impeding the motions of the wearer. In battle the sleeve of the right arm was left open, to increase the archer's agility. Each of them carried a bow, and twelve arrows, or, as they termed them, "the lives of twelve Scots," at his girdle; their shafts had a light forked head, and were carefully adjusted so as to fly true to the aim. In using the weapon, the English archers observed a practice unknown on the continent, drawing the bowstring not to the breast, but to the ear, which gave a far greater command of a strong bow

and long shaft. Their arrows were, accordingly, a cloth yard in length, and their bows carried to a prodigious distance. Upon the battlements of a castle, or walls of a town, the arrows fell with the rapidity of hail, and such certainty of aim, as scarcely permitted a defender to show himself; nor were they less formidable when discharged against a hostile column, whether of cavalry or infantry, and whether in motion or stationary. The principal danger to which the archers were exposed was that of a rapid and determined charge from cavalry. To provide in some degree against this, each archer used to carry a wooden stake shod with iron at both ends, the planting of which before him might, in some measure, afford a cover from horse. They had also swords. The stakes, however, were not always in readiness, nor were they always found effectual for the purpose, neither were their swords an adequate protection against cavalry. At the famous battle of Bannockburn, Bruce obtained that decisive victory chiefly by a well-executed manœuvre

for cutting to pieces the English archers, by a body of horse reserved for that service. Two or three other cases may be noticed, in which the French obtained similar advantages over the archers, by providing themselves with *pavisses*, that is, long targets, strong enough to protect them from shot. But these cases are very few, in comparison to the numerous instances in which the long bow proved superior both in France and Scotland.

The second division of the English infantry destined to fight hand to hand, was armed with *bills*, as they were called, weapons similar in shape to those knives with which husbandmen dress hedges, but placed upon longer handles. These two kinds of weapons were used by the English infantry, so exclusively, that their cry to arms used to be, "Bows and bills—bows and bills!" It is remarkable that both the national weapons were used by the contending parties in the battle of Hastings, where the Normans were armed with the long bow, and the Saxons with the

gisarme, or bill. The armies of the English, in later days, had troops armed with both, as intended not only for distant but close combat.

The bill which they used in close fight was a formidable weapon, though clumsy in action, since it required to be wielded with both hands, and therefore prevented those who used it from forming a compact body. It was certainly unequal, in a fair field, to the lances of the Scottish, nor does it seem to have given to those who bore it, any permanent or assured superiority over the same force in the French army.

This may, however, be said with truth, that neither the bowmen nor billmen of England were, generally speaking, exposed to the same oppression to which the peasants of France were subjected, and that, possessing a more independent character as individuals, they were less liable to lose heart in danger, and more eager to sustain their national reputation. Upon the whole, however, the efforts of the infantry were so little relied

upon at that period, that little was trusted to them in action, except in the case of the English archers. The men-at-arms on both sides might be considered as upon an equality; and the infantry who fought hand to hand, were so much so, that, in so far as regards that class of soldiers, it was accidental circumstances only which could decide the event of a field betwixt France and England.

To oppose the archery of their national antagonists, the French had no better resource than hiring, from Genoa and elsewhere, Italians and other strangers, well skilled in the use of the cross-bow, a species of weapon accounted so murderously fatal, that it was at one time prohibited by an edict of the Church as unchristian. To defend a fortress, or the walls of a town, where the shooter was in some degree sheltered by a parapet, the cross-bow was indeed a terrible instrument, though even there it was often found inferior to the English long-bow; still more was this the case in an open

field, where an English archer might shoot five, or perhaps ten arrows, while the difficulty of charging these steel-bows, which required to be bent by the slow operation of a windlass, hardly permitted the cross-bowman to send forth a single bolt. Of this you will find instances in the next volume.

The ordinary infantry of France, levied among the lowest drudges among her peasantry, added much to the numbers, but little to the military strength, and a great deal to the unwieldy confusion, of their great armies. These poor men felt that they were little trusted to, and cannot be supposed to have displayed much zeal in behalf of masters by whom they were contemned and oppressed. They wore almost no defensive armour, if we except tanned hides, and were irregularly armed with swords, spears, or clubs, as offensive weapons. No kind of discipline was taught them, and when attacked by the men-at-arms, they seem frequently to have made

no more effectual defence than might have been expected from a flock of sheep.

I may here mention, that gunpowder was discovered about this time; but at this, and down to a much later period, it was little used or understood in war. One author pretends that Edward III. had field-pieces at the battle of Cressy; but, had it been so, it seems probable that so remarkable a circumstance would have been more generally noticed. Such awkward and unwieldy cannon as the age possessed, were chiefly used in sieges. They were clumsy to transport, slow to load, and often burst when discharged. So that, as already hinted, it was long ere the invention began to produce that alteration in warfare, which it finally accomplished to so great an extent.

Such being the general state of the French and English armies, so far as they consisted of national troops, I have now to remind you, that the armies of both were often augmented by the mercenary soldiers of the period,—

men who had learned, among the tumults of the age, the desperate trade of war, and who, without acknowledging any nation or king of their own, were desirous to afford the benefit of their discipline and experience to those who were most willing to pay for their assistance. These bands were composed of adventurers of different nations, commanded by approved soldiers, who were sometimes recommended by their birth and rank, often by their superior activity and rapacity, but in all cases by their valour and success. These leaders followed upon a greater scale the course of individual knights, and hoped, not by their own prowess alone, but by the assistance of the soldiers whom they levied and commanded, to rise to wealth and consequence. These bands were the terror and scourge of the peasantry, whom they oppressed without mercy, since, when they were not in the actual pay of some prince, they subsisted themselves by force at the expense of the

natives of the country in which they resided for the time.

The Kings of England, and especially of France, set themselves at times seriously about the task of extirpating these debauched bands of ruffian soldiery, who, having no home or country of their own, were a general plague to other nations. But the purpose of extirpation was never effectually followed out; for the sovereigns were every now and then taught by necessity the convenience of being able to collect for a certain expenditure of treasure a body of experienced soldiers, as brave and better armed than any whom they could levy in their own dominions, and thus were freed from the necessity of depending on the humour of a fickle and overgrown crown vassal, who might be pleased with an opportunity of distressing and contradicting his liege lord, and enabled to rely upon that of a mercenary leader, whose faithful adherence might be calculated upon so long as his pay was duly

furnished. Thus the same plague which was complained of during the reigns of Stephen and John of England, and the contemporary sovereigns of France, revived in its wildest extent, during the calamitous period which we are now treating of.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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